The Outlook

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NGLAND'S RELIMINARY REPLY

In a note bearing the date of January 7, ır Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minter, has replied to the protest of the Amerian Government concerning the examinaon and detention of ships engaged in trade etween neutral countries by British warnips. The tone of this note is altogether ıendly. It is the product of fine diplomatic aining, and succeeds in conveying the imression of firmness in forms of expression ıat are distinctly conciliatory.

The British note expresses concurrence in the principle enunciated by the Governıent of the United States that a belligerent, ı dealing with trade between neutrals, should ot interfere unless such interference is necesary to protect the belligerent's national afety, and then only to the extent to which ıis is necessary." It is based on the undertanding that this principle concedes the right f interfering with trade in contraband estined for the enemy's country. "We are eady," writes Sir Edward Grey, "whenever ur action may unintentionally exceed this rinciple, to make redress."

In answer to the American Government's tatement that, through the British search and etention of ships in neutral trade, American roducts have been denied access to longstablished markets in European neutral ountries, this note quotes figures giving xports from New York for the month of Jovember. These figures show an increase f exports to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and taly. In the case of Holland there is a light falling off; but in the case of each of the ther countries named there is a marked inrease, the smallest being that of exports to taly, which is something less than double; hile in the case of Denmark the exports for ast November are almost thirteen times those f November of the preceding year! A imilar increase is shown in the official reurns for the export of copper—a comıodity referred to specifically and particularly in the American protest. Another interesting point pertains to the trade in rubber, inasmuch as a large part of that commodity comes from British dominions. This note explains that it is difficult for Great Britain to remove the embargo on the exportation of rubber from British dominions if that rubber is to be shipped by American merchants to countries with which Great Britain is at war.

The figures which the British note cites do not indicate that our trade with neutral countries has suffered on account of the war, but rather the contrary; and certainly we cannot place upon Great Britain responsibility for loss of trade with belligerent countries. The position in which our Government's protest has placed the United States does not seem less humiliating as time goes on. Having refused to protest on a matter of honor and the pledged word in the case of Belgium, we have chosen to protest on a matter of money profits; and now it seems that this protest has no very sure basis. Whatever gain has come to the United States as a result of this protest has been such as is involved in acting as the spokesman of other neutral nations.

This whole question is one that is emphatically subject to treatment by an international tribunal; and if there is any phase of the matter that cannot now be easily adjusted, there is no reason why it cannot be made the subject of friendly negotiations after the war or be submitted to arbitration.

THE ARIZONA ALIEN LABOR LAW

At a recent general election the people of Arizona, by a majority of 10,694 in a popular vote upon a measure submitted to them, enacted into law these provisions: "Any company, corporation, partnership, association, or individual who is or may hereafter become an employer of more than five workers at any one time, in the State of Arizona, regardless of kind or class of work, or sex of workers, shall employ not

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less than eighty per cent qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States, or some subdivision thereof," and making any violation of the provisions of the act a misdemeanor subject to fine and imprisonment.

The Ambassadors of the British and Italian Governments at once made representations to the Department of State to the effect that the Arizona law was in violation of the privileges accorded to the two countries under treaties with our Government. The State Department thereupon requested the Governor of Arizona to defer issuing his proclamation of the law. Under the Arizona Constitution and statutes it is made the duty of the Governor to issue that proclamation "forthwith," upon the certification of the returns by the Secretary of State.

A joint action by Italian, Japanese, and Chinese residents of Arizona was brought in the United States District Court in California; and that Court has decided that the Arizona law conflicts with the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, and is therefore void. The full text of the decision has not yet reached us; but the Court is reported as saying:

> If under guise of police regulation a State can prohibit an employer from employing more than twenty per cent of alien labor, it can prohibit him from employing more than five per cent; and if five per cent, any at all.
>
> The Supreme Court of the United States recently has held that the right to labor is a right of property. An alien cannot be deprived of the right of property under the Constitution of the United States.

The reports of this decision do not indicate that the violation of treaty rights has been brought to the attention of the Court or passed upon by that body. The Attorney-General of Arizona has announced his intention to appeal from this decision to the United States Supreme Court; and that appeal will be welcome as the first step in the possible settlement of the question of the power of the Federal Government to define and enforce the rights of aliens under the Federal Constitution.

This ought also to define decisively the authority of the Federal Government to enforce the provisions of treaties made with foreign Powers, for any State law affecting aliens may involve a treaty between the United States and their native country. No more important question can come before the Supreme Court; and the so-called anti-Japanese legislation in California and the endeavor in this State to limit the employment of aliens on public works indicate, among other movements, that the time is ripe for the final settlement of a question of a peculiarly irritating nature. Three Presidents have successively warned the country of the danger inherent in the present situation.

SECRETARY GARRISON ON THE ARMY

Before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs Secretary Garrison again came forward in defense of his recommendation for an increase in the personnel of the army. "I think the American people for the first time," the Secretary said, "have been seriously aroused through the newspapers to consider the matter of National defense. I am hopeful that one result will be a proper attitude towards those who are devoting their lives to this branch of the Government."

The immediate measures in which Secretary Garrison is interested are those providing for the enlistment of the regular army up to the full strength of its present organization, the increase of the number of officers by one thousand, and the establishment of a reserve force and reserve organizations which can be called into service when need arises.

Secretary Garrison again warned the Committee that the mobile army would be further decreased to the number of twenty-five thousand when the garrisons in the Canal Zone and Hawaii were filled. He said that the proposed measures were the least expensive way of furnishing an adequate military force prepared for war. Certainly the measures advocated by Secretary Garrison and the General Staff of the army represent a conservative solution of the problem of National defense, and the passage of these measures cannot by any stretch of the most elastic imagination be construed as a step towards turning the United States into an "armed camp." It is, however, at least one step away from the unintelligent attitude of those who expect upon the outbreak of war to find a million men springing to non-existent arms as from the sowing of some miraculous dragon's teeth of Chautauquan mold!

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN CONGRESS

Woman suffragists have now taken their turn with the National Prohibitionists in submitting their cause to the decision of the

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House of Representatives. The former, however, in their attempt to secure the adoption by the Federal Congress of their resolution proposing to submit to the several States a Constitutional amendment for the enfranchisement of women, were less successful than the anti-liquor advocates. The Prohibitionists, it will be remembered, led by Representative Hobson, of Alabama, while they failed to secure the two-thirds vote necessary for the adoption of their resolution, nevertheless secured a majority of those voting in the House of Representatives. The proposition to submit to the States a Constitutional amendment giving woman the ballot was defeated by a vote of 204 to 174.

As in the fight for prohibition, party lines were broken. Many Democrats voted in favor of the resolution, while many Republicans declined to follow Mr. Mann, their leader, who voted for the resolution. Fifty-one members were paired or absent from the House. Naturally, in the debate upon this question State rights played a very prominent part.

THE TEACHER-MOTHER PROBLEM

For the past few years New York City has been almost continuously agitated over the question of the teacher-mother. The Board of Education originally contended that it had the right to dismiss from the public service teachers absent for the purpose of child-bearing on the ground of neglect of duty. A test case was made by Mrs. Bridget Peixotto. Justice Seabury, of the New York Supreme Court, granted her appeal for reinstatement in the following words:

"The policy of our law favors marriage and the birth of children, and I know of no provision of our statute law or any principle of common law which justifies the inference that a public policy which concededly sanctions the employment of married women as teachers treats as ground of expulsion the act of a married woman in giving birth to a child."

This decision of Judge Seabury was reversed on appeal by the Board of Education to the Court of Appeals in a decision which avoided a discussion of the principles involved in the case, but was based on a construction of the powers of the Board of Education.

Now this victory of the Board of Education has been changed to a rout by a decision, not in the courts, but by the State Superintendent of Education, Dr. John H. Finley. The Commissioner's statement of the principle involved seems to The Outlook admirable in every way. "As Commissioner," he says in his decision, "I would give every possible aid in my power to promote devotion to duty, zealous service, and efficiency on the part of the teachers of the State, to prevent neglect of duty and inefficiency, and to eliminate incompetence, and I attribute only such high purposes to the Board of Education in its action in this case. But I am of the clear opinion, which I am obliged to follow, that these ends and purposes will not be served by selecting, or seeming to select, for stigma or reproach such a reason for temporary absence from school duty as is offered in this case, or inferring, or seeming to infer, inefficiency from the mere fact of motherhood.

"If, as this honorable Board appears to hold, married women teachers should end their services on maternity, this policy (which I cannot believe sound in principle or wholesome in practice) can be made possible only through legislation making it lawful to discharge because of marriage a teacher in service."

It seems to The Outlook that it is a self-evident proposition that the criterion of fitness to serve as a teacher in the public schools should be made solely dependent upon the individual's success with her work. The question whether a woman is married or single should, in itself, constitute reason neither for employment nor for dismissal, even though we think that there is fair question whether motherhood does not in itself increase a teacher's capacity for understanding and for the giving of instruction.

THE DANGERS OF THE SUBWAY

Investigation of the causes of the recent accident in New York's subway, whereby one woman was killed, many persons were semi-suffocated, and hundreds were terror-stricken and distressed, began with promptness and celerity, but dragged slowly from day to day without reaching definite results in its first week of inquiry. So far—that is, up to January 13—the discussion in the press has been more suggestive than the testimony before the Public Service Commission.

It is agreed that the trouble all came, not from the burning of any car, but from the effects of fumes and smoke. These in turn came from the burning out of the "splices"

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between the ends of cables carrying powerful currents of electricity at high voltage which in transforming chambers was fed in lower voltage to feeder wires whence it reaches the third rails. The cables are carried in conduit boxes in the walls of the subway, but, as they are too heavy to handle in great lengths, splicing-boxes or small rooms are provided every three hundred feet, and here the ends of two lengths of cable are spliced in what looks much like a plumber's "soft joint." Each splicing-box has a door opening into the subway and a manhole leading to the street. Whether in this case the cable was too old and should have been replaced, or whether too much current was carried on one cable—for to overcharge a cable with too great voltage will force an escape or short circuit as surely as an overcharged water-pipe will burst under pressure—or whether, as Mr. Hedley, the General Manager, seems to intimate, the causes of short circuits are inscrutable, which other experts do not believe, are questions of evidence. But to prevent the subway from being filled with poisonous fumes is only a question of skill and expense. The Public Service Commission's electrical engineer, the very day after the accident, made a clear and valuable report, in which he recommended that the splice-rooms be cut off from the subway proper by walling up the present doors and using for access the manholes only. Others say that mineral insulation for the wires should take the place of rubber and oil. Others advise separate subway passages for carrying the wires. Firmness on the part of the authorities and an expenditure of money by the leasing company commensurate with the danger to life involved can certainly make such a horrible destruction of life as was threatened on January 6 impossible.

Meanwhile certain questions are being asked which it is hoped the various inquiries now going on will answer. For instance:

Why did almost an hour elapse after the accident before the Fire Department was notified?

Why should not some effective light be furnished by storage batteries in subway cars?

Why cannot the subway itself be lighted by a system independent of the motive power?

How long will it take the leasing company to obey the Public Service Commission's instructions to provide steel cars in place of wooden or "combination" cars?

Should there not be more manholes or emergency exits, and more chance for smoke and fumes to escape?

Is it safe to run wooden cars on the elevated roads? If not, what is to be done about it? On January 13 the elevated roads had a bad "tie-up" from a short circuit.

Ought not the third rail to be better guarded? In case of accidents passengers may have to walk along the line.

Are the admitted defects and dangers of the old subways being remedied in building the new ones?

These and other questions suggested by experts and by the users of the subways are entitled to serious attention. The Public Service Commission itself has been attacked for alleged laxness in controlling the corporation which operates the subways and for not enforcing rigidly its own orders.

In the case of the elevated railway accident of December 9 reported in The Outlook of December 23 under the head "Reckless Railroading," a coroner's jury rendered a verdict charging the officers with "culpable negligence," and a Grand Jury is to pass on the facts. The President of the Interborough Company, Mr. Theodore Shonts, its General Manager, Mr. Frank T. Hedley, and other officers and directors, including August Belmont and Cornelius Vanderbilt, are named in the verdict of the coroner's jury.

THE FIGHT FOR THE FORESTS

This year the annual meeting of the American Forestry Association took place in New York City. Had the Administration at Washington shown greater attention to the Association, its annual meetings might have been continued in the National capital, but under any circumstances it may be a good thing to meet in various parts of the country, and thus emphasize the Association's widespread character.

We are glad to record that the close touch with the Forest Service always maintained in the Washington meetings was also accentuated this year, the address of Mr. Graves, the United States Forester, deservedly taking most prominent place. No one seems better able than is Mr. Graves to warn us concerning the activities of those opposed to public control of National resources in general and of forests in particular. Not so much is heard now as formerly about the activities

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of these persons. They are clever enough not to press their original plan of abolishing at one stroke the whole system of National forestry. But they are nevertheless continuing their efforts against the system by the "whittling down" process, with a view of getting public property into private hands.

If this is true of our National domain, it is also true of the forest domains in the several States. Fortunately, with regard to the Nation, there is now an awakened, intelligent, and Nation-wide sentiment. Unfortunately for the States, however, their governments must wage local campaigns which attract hardly more than local attention. In noting this, Mr. Graves appropriately called attention, at this meeting in New York State, to the interest of that State in its own Adirondack domain. As was pointed out by Dr. Drinker, President of Lehigh University, and also President of the Forestry Association, New York has set aside the largest forest reserve of any State, and is about transforming it from a hunters' wilderness into a forest reserve proper—that is to say, a place which will afford a store of timber, constantly renewed, under conditions of cultivation taught by the experience of other countries in which the danger of timber famine has been averted.

As was also fitting at a meeting in a great commercial city, the lumber interests were well represented. Mr. R. S. Kellogg, Secretary of the Northern Hemlock and Hard-Wood Association, emphasized the following features in which the American Forestry Association is of help to lumbermen: fire protection, taxation, the utilization of timber, and the education of the public to understand the conditions under which timber conservation becomes possible.

THE MINNEAPOLIS MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

An important event in the American art world was the opening of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts on January 7. Photographs of the exterior of the new museum and of the Renaissance room are shown in the illustrated section of this issue of The Outlook.

The idea of a modern art museum for Minneapolis was born at a dinner held at the Minneapolis Club in 1911, when the initial gift towards this object of a ten-acre plot of ground in a particularly advantageous location was made by Mr. Clinton Morrison. In a very short time more than a half-million dollars was raised for the construction of a building, the design of which was finally awarded to the firm of McKim, Mead & White, of New York. The building, when completed, will embrace not only accommodations for the museum and art school, but will also contain a large auditorium to be available for the use of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. Both in exterior and interior the building is restrained in detail, and depends for its very successful effect upon the beauty of its proportions and the simplicity of its lines. For the purchase of works of art there is at present available the income from an endowment of one million dollars given by Mr. William H. Dunwoody. For the maintenance of the museum there will be a city tax of one-eighth of a mill and contributions from the Society of Fine Arts.

The policy of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts under its director, Mr. Joseph Breck, will be to collect a representative exhibit of paintings, sculpture, and of the decorative arts of all countries. More than half the material exhibited in the Institute will be contemporary art, illustrating in about equal proportions the work being done in the United States and in Europe.

The new museum is, however, to be much more than a mere storehouse of artistic achievement. It is upon the utilization rather than in the collection of examples of artistic enterprise that the emphasis will be placed. As Mr. Breck well said in a recent address: "In no way can a museum better further the interests of modern art than by affording inspiration and instruction to those who design and execute the familiar objects which surround us in our daily life. No nation has ever produced great art which was not successful in the production of the decorative arts. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that great art is impossible when ugliness is rampant in the homes."

Such is the ideal and purpose of the great South Kensington Museum in London. If the Minneapolis Institute of Arts fulfills in any measure the same function, it will form a valuable contribution to our American civilization.

As will be seen in the illustration of the Renaissance room of the new museum published in this issue, the old museum idea that an art collection was merely a mechanical mixture of art objects has been very successfully abandoned. The display of pictures and furniture of a period in a manner commensurate with the dignity of the objects shown

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immeasurably enhances their art value and their effect upon the observer. In the display of art objects it is more than quite possible that we have in recent years learned much from the instinctive artistic self-restraint of the Japanese.

THE OPENING EXHIBIT

In the pictures secured for its opening exhibit the Minneapolis Institute of Art may well take pride. Among modern pictures there were five oil paintings and twenty-two water-colors from the brush of Winslow Homer. There was a gallery of pictures by Whistler, Dewing, and Tryon, loaned from the National Gallery of Art through the courtesy of Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit. From Mr. Freer's Chinese collection there were two panels from an old screen of the Ming period. French Impressionists were well represented in another room. A group of twenty-two very important pictures by nineteenth-century artists were shown from the collection of Mr. James J. Hill, of St. Paul. In this group there were six paintings by Corot, two by Courbet, two by Daubigny and Delacroix, six by Millet, two by Rousseau, two by Troyon, and one by Dupré. The older masters in the exhibition were shown in the period rooms devoted to Gothic, Renaissance, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Among the most interesting pictures included in this latter class were examples of the work of Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Ruysdael, Goya, and the English portrait painters.

CARDINAL MERCIER

Belgium is emphatically a Roman Catholic country. The immense majority of its citizens professing a religion are of the Roman Catholic faith, as is shown by the part of the incomes of the clergy of all denominations paid in 1913 from the Government treasury, namely, 7,318,200 francs to Roman Catholics, 117,000 to Protestants, and 32,000 to Jews.

At the head of the Belgian Roman Catholics is the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin or Malines—the French form now coming into general use in preference to the English, which is, of course, an adaptation of the indigenous Flemish Mechelen. "Mechlin lace" will, however, doubtless remain in current use.

It may seem strange that the Primate of Belgium should take his name from this town, when we recall the old saying summarizing the characteristics of Belgian cities:

"*Nobilibus Bruxella viris, Antwerpia nummis, Gandavum laqueis, formosis Bruga puellis, Lovanium doctis, gaudet Mechlinia stultis.*"

(Brussels rejoices in noble men, Antwerp in money, Ghent in halters, Bruges in pretty girls, Louvain in learned men, and Mechlin in fools.)

At all events, on the excessive increase of the hierarchy of the Netherlands in 1559—one of the causes of the unrest in the then Spanish provinces—Pope Paul IV raised the Cathedral of St. Rombold at Mechlin to an archiepiscopal metropolitan dignity, and the first Archbishop was Antony Perenot de Granvella, the hated Minister of the Regent, Margaret of Parma.

The present Archbishop, Cardinal Mercier, is a far more lovable character, as may be gathered from his portrait on another page. It shows the prelate as he appeared in London, where he spent a few days on his return journey to Belgium from the Papal Conclave at Rome. The Cardinal mingled freely with the people and won much popularity among Protestants as well as Catholics. No one could question his intense patriotism, and yet none of his utterances gave an indication of a lack of tact. This, however, did not, it is said, characterize a recent pastoral letter, which was unnecessarily severe, so the Germans claimed, against their government in Belgium. It is reported that the letter was confiscated and the Cardinal practically imprisoned in his own palace, but that most of the priests refused to obey the order of the German commander not to circulate the pastoral letter, on the ground that their orders come from the religious and not from the military authorities.

MEXICO: THE VILLA-CARRANZA WAR

Continuing the struggle for liberty to which the President referred in his Indianapolis speech, the two ex-bandits Villa and Zapata are moving their forces in two directions to the attack upon Carranza, lately referred to unkindly by Huerta as "the four-flusher." Since General Obregon, formerly the ablest of Villa's generals, definitely gave in his adhesion to Carranza, the latter's chance of making strong resistance to Villa's heretofore all but irresistible attacks has become stronger. The reoccupation of Puebla by the Carranzistas after a severe fight was

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an indication of this. But last week the news was favorable to Villa: he holds Hipolito and Saltillo, and has advanced upon Monterey, which last important place, according to despatches of January 13, had been evacuated by the Carranza forces. As Villa also holds Victoria, the capital of the eastern State of Tamaulipas, the situation as regards an advance by Villa on Tampico, his objective in this part of the campaign, is very much what the position of the combined Constitutionalist forces was before Huerta's fall and when his forces were still in Tampico.

The other important side of the Villa-Carranza campaign is the advance from Mexico City toward Vera Cruz. This is being carried on under Zapata's leadership. It is probable that this movement will not be pushed to a quick conclusion, but will be used to prevent Carranza from throwing his full strength against the army now led by General Angeles, but soon, apparently, to be thrown into battle under Villa's personal leadership.

On the northern boundary of Mexico between Sonora and the United States an agreement has been signed by Villa and Carranza generals which, if carried out, will do away with further firing across the border into Arizona, and thereby occasioning loss of life and injury to our citizens and soldiers. This agreement has been brought about by the efforts of General Hugh Scott, Chief of Staff in the United States army, who has for two or three weeks been dealing with great ability with a threatening and dangerous situation.

MRS. JAMES T. FIELDS

In "The Bostonians" Mr. Henry James, describing, it is believed, the drawing-room in the house of Mrs. James T. Fields, said that it was "furnished with associations." Dickens was once kept waiting in the same room for his hostess. Mrs. Fields apologized for the delay. The novelist said at once: "Waiting in such a place never means loss of time for me; I instinctively take possession of the room. I could describe everything in this room."

These comments of two novelists are significant of Mrs. Fields's whole life. It was a life of rich associations with the most interesting people in this country and abroad. She was the personal friend of many of the foremost writers on both sides of the ocean, and, one may add, the intimate friend of a large group of them. Mr. James T. Fields, her husband, was a publisher; he was also a man of strong personality, who made his clients his personal friends, and whose literary taste and skill enabled him in "Yesterdays with Authors" to make a delightful contribution to the personal history of American writing. Mrs. Fields's home on Charles Street was long a center of literary interest. She was a charming hostess, unobtrusive, gentle, accomplished, and sympathetic. As the older group passed away Miss Jewett became her companion, and her drawing-room remained a "salon" in the best sense of the word.

With the death of Mrs. Fields another and intimate tie with the past is broken. She was a charming writer, as her "Authors and Friends," her "Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe," and her editorial work in the preparation of the "Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett" show. Her two volumes of poems, "The Singing Shepherd" and "Orpheus," reveal the delicacy and refinement of her talent; and The Outlook is glad of the opportunity to reprint these exquisite lines on Theocritus:

THEOCRITUS

Ay! Unto thee belong
The pipe and song,
Theocritus,—
Loved by the satyr and the faun!
To thee the olive and the vine,
To thee the Mediterranean pine,
And the soft lapping sea!
Thine, Bacchus,
Thine, the blood-red revels,
Thine, the bearded goat!
Soft valleys unto thee,
And Aphrodite's shrine,
And maidens veiled in falling robes of lawn!
But unto us, to us,
The stalwart glories of the North;
Ours is the sounding main,
And ours the voices uttering forth
By midnight round these cliffs a mighty strain;
A tale of viewless islands in the deep
Washed by the waves' white fire;
Of mariners rocked asleep
In the great cradle, far from Grecian ire
Of Neptune and his train;
To us, to us,
The dark-leaved shadow and the shining birch,
The flight of gold through hollow woodlands driven,
Soft dying of the year with many a sigh,
These, all, to us are given!
And eyes that eager evermore shall search
The hidden seed, and searching find again
Unfading blossoms of a fadeless spring;
These, these, to us!
The sacred youth and maid,
Coy and half afraid;

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The sorrowful earthly pall,
Winter and wintry rain,
And autumn's gathered grain,
With whispering music in their fall;
These unto us!
And unto thee, Theocritus,
To thee,
The immortal childhood of the world,
The laughing waters of an inland sea,
And beckoning signal of a sail unfurled!

THE AUTO SHOW

In the days when automobiles were quite justly dubbed horseless carriages, prophets were not wanting to declare that the day of the fad for substituting gasoline for oats would not be long in the land. Later, these same prophets took up the cry that annual auto shows were likewise doomed to extinction just as soon as the new industry outgrew its swaddling-clothes.

Auto shows, however, have come and gone, motors have grown in size and number of cylinders and have shrunk in price and complication, parts have been standardized, developed, and then restandardized, yet the public interest in these great trade exhibits does not seem to die.

The secret of the matter, of course, lies in the fact that, together with the internal combustion motor, there has developed the mechanical intelligence of those who pass in long review before the silent machines and their less silent guardians.

A public which once demanded only to know what made the wheels go round, in the days when steam-cars vied with the explosive type in popular favor, and wonderingly questioned where one kept the coal, now insists with authority upon details that put the best of demonstrators upon their mettle.

Despite the great advance made in the standardization of construction and in the uniform application of mechanical principles, the great automobile exhibit recently held in the Grand Central Palace, in New York City, differed from its predecessors in at least three important particulars. It was marked by the introduction in America of the eight-cylinder motor as a commercial factor. It was marked by a striking reduction in prices, and by the prominent part occupied by the developing "cycle-car" or super-light-weight automobile.

Three makers displayed cars equipped with eight-cylinder motors—a departure from current practice which is claimed to give a flexibility of control not previously attained, together with a compactness of form equal to that of the four-cylinder type and a more constant torque than has been attained even by the six-cylinder. Several of this latter type were shown for less than $1,500. One eight-cylinder motor car of excellent construction was listed to sell at $1,350. A four-cylinder car equipped with all the modern devices and astonishingly well finished sold for $785. All of these cars were typical of the downward trend in auto costs and the upward trend in automobile values.

The cycle-car, with its kindred, shows promise of galvanizing into activity a time-worn jest that has doubtless brought a more or less well-deserved supper to many a hard-working cartoonist. The artist who has so patiently depicted the unfortunate driver burrowing under his car can now invert his one best automobile joke and paint pictures of the unfortunate car burrowing under its driver.

TRAGEDY IN LABRADOR

The wave of misery set in motion by the war has broken on the shores of Labrador, and reports indicate greater suffering among the people for whom Dr. Grenfell has been working than ever before in their history. Everything seems to have conspired against their prosperity and comfort. The season has been the most severe in the memory of living men.

From the lips of five old men in five different harbors on five different days Dr. Grenfell reports the same tale: "No, doctor, no man ever saw before the Strait of Belle Isle jammed with ice on the first day of August. It's beyant al'." The water was as cold as in winter, and the fish were too much paralyzed to take the bait or to be caught in the nets. Great trap-nets were broken up and used as seines to surround shoals of fish lying like sodden logs, half frozen, at the bottom. A yacht made three attempts in July to reach St. Anthony and was driven back by the ice as many times. Because of this severe weather potatoes did not appear above the ground and the berry crop failed. Even herring stayed away from the coast, and on the first of September the new snow made the hills white while the snow-drifts of last winter were still at the water-line.

Then, as if to combine forces with nature, on the first of August came the news of the war. This meant that the small catch of fish could not be sold; that flour would not

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only be dear but almost impossible to obtain; while sugar, pork, and butter would be entirely out of reach. Railway construction closed, the mines at Sydney and Belle Isle closed, the fur market ceased to exist, the telegraph stations were shut, and a severe epidemic in influenza swept the coast. The people of Labrador are experiencing every kind of suffering.

These terrible conditions create a greater need than Dr. Grenfell has ever faced before, and the Grenfell Association is making strenuous efforts to aid him in a work which has commanded the enthusiastic support of a host of Americans because it was so practical, so human, and so permanent. It is earnestly hoped that the Association, which has its office at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, may be able to put back of Dr. Grenfell in the appalling task he is facing this winter the most generous support, which means, of course, that it shall have the most generous contributions from its friends.

A MISSIONARY PROTEST

It is discouraging to read in a responsible newspaper the statement, "Every one knows that we shall have to fight Japan." As a matter of fact, nobody knows it, although a group of people have agreed to imagine it. The statement is utterly irresponsible.

Meanwhile it is to be noted that a large and influential body of missionaries have addressed a letter to the President solemnly protesting against any action which is prejudicial to the honor and good name of Christian people in America, and presenting a series of resolutions declaring that the friendly relations between Japan and this country are endangered by repeated reports of hostile intentions on the part of our Government, and the making of preparations for war with Japan; and that the report has been widely spread in Japan that candidates for election to the Legislature of the State of California were asked to pledge their support to a bill or bills depriving Japanese residents of their rights to lease land for any purpose whatever; and the signers protest in the strongest terms possible against any such action until the diplomatic anthorities of the two countries have had time to solve the problem. It may be added that in Far Eastern countries the best-informed foreigners are the missionaries. They live with the people, work for them, know them at first hand. It is reassuring to note that further legislation inimical to Japanese interests during the present session of the Legislature of California is highly improbable. It is reported that the Governor of the State is strongly against any such action.

THE NEW STATUS OF EGYPT

A generation ago it became necessary, in the interests of civilization, for England and France, financially and economically, to administer the Egyptian Government. When, however, it came to a question of armed interference to deliver Egypt from anarchy, France showed herself unready. So England had to accomplish the task alone.

The condition of Egypt to-day shows how well she did it. She has lifted the country from degradation and ignorance and has reconstructed it. Especially has she rehabilitated the magnificent agricultural possibilities of the valley of the Nile, always the guaranty of Egypt's wealth, but now, by British improvements through great dams and reservoirs, transformed into one of the granaries of the world.

The lowest ranks of the people, the *fellahîn*, as well as all of the population, are materially and morally in a far better condition than at any previous time, and this has been due to English educative influence.

Politically Egypt is still under the Khedive as sovereign. But his Ministers, since 1882, have taken no important move without consulting with the British Agent at Cairo. Nor have the functions of the Egyptian Legislative Council been other than advisory.

Khedive Abbas Hilmi joined his nominal sovereign, Turkey, in the declaration of war against England, France, and Russia. Hence England dethroned him and put Hussein Kemal, the oldest member of the Khedivial house, in his stead. In this England reverts to the old Mohammedan custom under which the throne goes, not to the oldest son of the previous monarch, but to the oldest member of the royal family.

England has also revived the old title, "Sultan of Egypt." It remains to be seen whether this revival will further eliminate the Sultan of Turkey from his position of primacy both political and ecclesiastical.

For the main fact to strike every one is that at last the Sultan of Turkey has been retired altogether from any control of African territory. Algeria in 1830, Tunis in

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1881, Tripoli in 1911, and now Egypt in 1914—these events mark the passing of Turkish rule from Africa.

In Egypt itself the change is strangely unmarked. The ceremonial entry of the new Sultan into the Abdin Palace has passed off without any hitch, indeed with some manifestation of popular satisfaction.

A new Egyptian flag has now made its appearance. It consists of three white crescents on a red field with their backs to the staff, each with a five-pointed white star between the horns.

YALE IN CHINA

"The College of Yale in China" began in 1906 as a "collegiate school," like the Yale founded in 1701. It has already graduated three classes, numbering eight in all—three more than the first three classes in old Yale's catalogue. Last year it registered one hundred and thirty students, drawn from seven of the eighteen provinces of China. Already a procession of trained teachers is issuing from it. The first decade shows a teaching staff of ten Yale graduates with Chinese assistants, the best hospital in central China as the basis of medical education, twenty acres of land for the college campus, and about fifty thousand dollars toward the buildings already begun there. This, together with the loyal attachment of the surrounding community in a province which fifteen years ago was "forbidden" to foreigners.

Yale in China is strategically situated at Changsha, the capital of the Province of Hunan in the heart of China, on the great central railway between Peking and Canton, and in steamship connection with Shanghai. Within a radius of six hundred miles dwell, as estimated, one-fifth of the world's population. The planting of the college here was requested by representatives of all the missionary societies at work in Hunan. The establishment of a medical school in connection with it was requested by the Governor and the gentry of the province. These have given the money needed to build the hospital, with an annual grant of $25,000 from the provincial treasury—the most notable case yet of official co-operation with foreigners in educational work. Two schools, for men and women nurses, have already branched from the medical school. Four physicians with a staff of nurses and helpers are now in its employ.

Hearty local co-operation with the school appears in the provincial Police Commissioner's appointment of the entire medical staff as a Medical Council to the Municipal Bureau of Hygiene, and in the campaign for medical education undertaken by the Social Service League of Changsha women. This responsiveness in China stirs responsiveness at Yale. Four graduates of 1914 have already gone, most of them at their own cost, for a year's work in Changsha, and five men are preparing here for permanent work there in special lines. What Yale in China is doing to diffuse American ideas and ideals, and what other universities are doing, as reported in The Outlook of May 9 last, is a matter of National interest, and appeals for generous support. Money is urgently needed to work this fruitful field efficiently. For a recent report of "The Yale Mission," its development and its needs, address Mr. F. Wells Williams, New Haven, Connecticut.

THE OTHER SIDE

The pessimists and cynics are often right for the moment; they are always, when they judge of great things, wrong in the end. They see very clearly the diseases from which society is suffering, and the service they render is in making society aware of its diseases. But they never see the hidden springs of health; they never recognize the vitality in society; and in the end it is not the disease but the vitality which conquers.

At this moment the cynics and the pessimists are finding in the great war an immense amount of available material. "Look," they say, "at the destruction of civilization; behold the failure of Christianity, the degeneration of humanity, the eclipse of all the great hopes, visions, and ideals!" And on the surface these prophets of evil would seem to be justified. There is much that is profoundly discouraging and disconcerting to thoughtful men in the appalling destruction of life and property and the awful waste of the resources of civilization.

But fundamentally the judgments of the cynics and the pessimists are disproved and made things of naught by the most magnificent illustration of the great qualities of human nature which the world has ever seen. What counts fundamentally is not the surface disorder, though that may work widespread disaster; it is not the failure of this or that political device; it is not the arrest of this or

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that progressive movement; it is not the failure to realize this or that golden hope; it is the response men make in a great crisis that uncovers the things for which they care most. What is of supreme consequence in the world is not the absence of disaster, it is the presence of an unquestionable and indomitable faith in invisible things. The treasuries of the world may be destroyed, but humanity is not dishonored if in adversity its soul flames out victorious.

The pessimists have been telling us for years that the old France had perished, and the vulgarities of the Caillaux trial on the very eve of the great struggle seemed to justify this prediction; but on the first day of August that superficial France of the pessimists disappeared and the real France came into view: the France of patriotic passion, of self-forgetfulness, and of self-control; a silent France, sending the very flower of its citizenship to die on the frontiers.

The pessimists have told us for years that the Belgians were a comfortable, materialistic people, concerned only with the things that make for ease and pleasure; but on the first day of August Belgium went to the stake without a murmur, and has suffered death without flinching. In all the history of the world there never has been a more sublime illustration of the capacity of the human soul to suffer and die for something that is better than life.

For decades past the decline of the English Empire and the decay of English character have been announced or predicted by scores of cynics and pessimists, who have read in current history the lesson of a great lost genius for rule. On the first day of August England began to gather her children about her. They came from all quarters of the globe. Her nobles, often accused and often guilty of leading luxurious lives and of indifference to social injustice, put their lives in her hands, not only with alacrity, but with glowing enthusiasm. Even the races that have been subject to her rallied about her; and never in her long history, full of peril and vicissitude, has England showed a more heroic mood than in this day when she is fighting for her life.

Everybody knew the enormous development of Germany during the past thirty years, and everybody recognized her organized energy and power; but concerning all the nations that are now in the field against her armies there has been widespread skepticism of their seriousness of temper, their moral vitality, their physical resourcefulness.

The luxury of modern life, the devotion to business, the disclosures of greed, selfishness, and dishonesty which have come as inevitable results of a great prosperity, have furnished cynics and pessimists with ready material for the arraignment of society and the prediction that the world has lost its ancient courage and devotion. But never in all its history has death seemed such a mere incident as to-day, when the story of indifference to its approach is told in every army corps and by every detachment of men over the whole field, east and west. Courage is the universal possession of the German, the Englishman, the Frenchman, the Belgian, the Austrian, the Russian, and the Japanese. The stories of individual coolness and daring are so many that they have almost ceased to attract special attention. The other day, when the British dreadnought Formidable went down in a storm, crushed like an egg-shell by torpedoes or mines, her captain—Loxley—was on the bridge as she sank; and his last words were: "Steady, men; it's all right; keep cool; do not get in a panic; be British." Every officer was at his post; many of them had lighted cigarettes. This stirring exhibition of the fact that the man does not die when his body falls in the trenches or sinks in the ocean can be matched in every navy and army. All Europe is fighting for invisible things. There never was such universal and commanding evidence that the soul of humanity is supreme and invincible.

THE SHIPPING BILL

The Administration's proposition to purchase and run, through the medium of a Government-controlled corporation, a fleet of merchant ships seems to us on economic and political grounds an attempt to borrow, or rather buy, gratuitous trouble. Advocates of this plan, put forward as a measure for the temporary relief of American commerce, base their arguments on three points:

The individual citizens of the United States have failed to develop an unsubsidized merchant marine.

The war has left many idle ships along our shore that are advantageously available for purchase.

There is a pressing need for neutral bot-

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toms in which to carry American products to the shores of Europe and South America.

To these things President Wilson in his Indianapolis speech attributed the rise in freight rates, which, in some cases, he said, has been tenfold.

It is true that the private citizens of America have in recent years failed to develop a foreign merchant marine at all comparable with that created by the citizens of either Germany or of England. In the days of the clipper ships American commerce-carriers were the fastest and the best upon the seas. The proportions to which our coastwise traffic, protected from foreign competition, has grown may be taken as evidence that we have not yet lost the power to construct or the ability to man a merchant marine in this present day and generation. Therefore it may be taken for granted that controlling factors other than National incapacity are responsible for the absence of the American flag from the high seas. Foremost among these factors may be placed our navigation laws—laws which place an American seaman at an advantage over his foreign co-laborers which they deny to American ship-owners. For obvious reasons not many thoughtful men are willing to advocate a repeal of these humanitarian features of our navigation laws. Therefore we must, with equal frankness, face the fact that by these same laws our merchant companies are placed at the same commercial disadvantage with foreign vessels in which our States are now placed which demand for their growing citizens the protection of child labor laws.

Both those who support and those who condemn the Administration's proposition to purchase and run a fleet of commercial vessels are united upon the statement that our foreign merchant marine has been a failure in the past. To seek to make good this failure by the launching of a Government fleet to compete with private ships already at a commercial disadvantage with foreign vessels seems to us an untenable proposition, and the first step towards driving what remains of our merchant marine from the ocean. The Government did not organize the parcel post because the express companies had failed to make their business pay, but because it was felt that the express companies had been made to pay too well—to the cost of the public at large. Where public enterprise enters private enterprise departs. Public ownership of a merchant marine could never be made a cure for the failure of private industry in the same direction. At best it could only be made an expensive substitute.

There is very grave doubt as to the reasonableness of the justification offered for making the proposal, for there has been no little testimony to the effect that the high freight rate to neutral and foreign shores was dependent as much upon war risks as upon lack of commerce-carriers. The price of wheat and the export returns of the past month may be taken as positive evidence that our farmers and manufacturers are not suffering unduly from a lack of ships. If they are not, it would seem the height of unwisdom to launch our Government on the revolutionary proposal.

This proposition, linked with the proposal to purchase the foreign ships now lying idle in our ports, seems to us doubly dangerous.

In the first place, under any circumstance the proposed experiment would be of more than doubtful commercial value.

But at this particular juncture it involves risk which it would be difficult to exaggerate. The United States has already found itself facing serious complications because of the complaints arising from the search of American ships at sea. The question not only of contraband cargo but of American registry is difficult enough to solve when it involves a private citizen alone. What would happen if a ship purchased from a belligerent since the outbreak of hostilities, and owned or controlled by the American Government, should be stopped and searched at sea by the war-ships of another hostile Power? The questions of cargo, of registry, are questions and problems so clearly defined and so difficult of solution as to alarm the most casual of understanding observers.

More intangible, but nevertheless to be considered, is the question whether the United States Government—a neutral Power—has the moral right to aid a belligerent through the purchase of ships which are useful to that Government only in so far as their cash value can be obtained.

A nation which has shown such consistent aversion to ship subsidies will be slow to accept what the President himself describes as "a temporary measure of relief" and what is a perilous adventure into the international danger zone as a substitute for an intelligent and constructive policy for the building up of a private merchant marine.

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PRESIDENT WILSON'S INDIANAPOLIS SPEECH

A REVIEW AND AN ESTIMATE

SOME speeches are memorable because of their eloquence or their grace of expression. Although President Wilson's speech at Indianapolis on January 8 is couched in a literary style that pleases, it is not because of this that it will be remembered, but because it will do much to fix President Wilson's place in history. It will undoubtedly have a continuing effect upon public opinion, and thus upon political movements and upon the course of the Nation. Just as the "Winona Speech" is associated with President Taft, and the "Osawatomie Speech" is associated with Mr. Roosevelt, so the "Indianapolis Speech" is destined to be associated with President Wilson. More than any other speech Mr. Wilson has ever delivered it reveals his attitude of mind, his purposes, and his political relations.

We here give:

1. The substance of the speech.
2. The opinions of the press upon it.
3. The Outlook's estimate.

I. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECH

Cautioning his hearers against thinking too much about the war in Europe, President Wilson plunged almost at once into a discussion of American party politics. Speaking on Jackson Day, he naturally took his text from Andrew Jackson. "I like to be reminded," he said, "of the old militant hosts of Democracy;" and, in somewhat ambiguous phrase, he added: "And you will notice that whenever the United States forgets its ardor for mankind a Democrat is elected President." "The trouble with the Republican party," he continued, "is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician. I am speaking as a historian: . . . They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out." The Republican party is still "a cover and a refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything."

Neither the regular Republicans, however, nor the regular Democrats, Mr. Wilson acknowledged frankly and readily, are sufficient to control the Nation. It is the independent voter that rules. The task of the Democrats is to prove to the independent voter that "the instrument he needs is the Democratic party, and that it would be hopeless for him to use the Republican party." Only about one-third of the Republicans are progressive, but about two-thirds of the Democrats. It is, however, not only a progressive but an efficient party that the country wants, and, while the Republicans are not only unprogressive but inefficient, the Democratic party is as efficient as it is progressive. "I understand and respect the conservative temperament," President Wilson acknowledged. "I claim to be an animated conservative myself;" but one who in order to preserve the best says that you must move forward.

For instance, the Democratic party has by the Currency Act "emancipated the credits of this country." In proof of this he said that this has been the first January in the recollection of business men and bankers in which a money stringency had not been temporarily created because of the necessity of paying out great sums in dividends and other settlements.

The Democratic party is still on trial; it must hold together and "march with discipline;" and "if a man will not play in the team, then he does not belong to the team." He promised "deep bitterness" to any group of men who should "dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motives."

He paid a tribute to the present Congress as the one that had "the most remarkable record that any Congress since the Civil War has had," and he added, "I say since the Civil War because I haven't had time to think about those before the Civil War."

The profits of the American farmers are being eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage. The Shipping Bill, which provides for a corporation for the ownership and operation of merchantmen in which the Government shall own the majority of the shares, is a measure of temporary relief offered by the Democrats, and the President hears

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that the Republicans are making every effort to defeat the bill. "I challenge them to show their right to stand in the way of the release of American products to the rest of the world," said the President. "Who commissioned them, a minority, a less than minority . . . ? . . . Some of them are misguided, some of them are blind, most of them are ignorant. I would rather pray for them than abuse them. . . . They do not come and tell me what they are attempting: I don't know why. I would express my opinion of them in parliamentary language; I would express it, I hope, none the less plainly because couched in the terms of courtesy," and he proceeded to express it in the following sentence: "This country is bursting and gaping, and they are seeing to it that their jacket is not only kept tight but is riveted with steel." It is evident that the President feels warmly upon the subject of the Shipping Bill.

He commended two "great bills pending in the United States Senate just now that have been passed by the House of Representatives;" one "which will make available the enormous water powers of this country, . . . another bill which will unlock the resources of the public domain" and would "carry out for the first time in the history of the United States a system by which the great resources of the country can be used."

President Wilson urged the establishment of "a great Federal employment bureau;" and he welcomed the attempt of the Department of Labor to get unemployed men to gather the crops. He advocated improvements in the procedure of the courts, so that it would not be necessary to be rich in order to get justice on account of the cost of the process.

As to the tariff, the President made a statement which will probably bring surprise, not unmixed with incredulity, to members of his own party as well as to Republicans. He said there had been talk about a scientific way of revising the tariff by adjusting it to the actual trade conditions of America and of the world. And he said that the new Trade Commission does this very thing because it is authorized and empowered to investigate and report to Congress upon the conditions of trade, cost of manufacture, and the cost of transportation—"all the things that enter into the question of the tariff in foreign countries as well as the United States;" and, he added, "it has full powers which will guide Congress in the scientific treatment of questions of international trade." This he cited as an example of the things which the progressive Republicans have proposed and which "the Democrats either have done or are immediately proposing to do."

Mr. Wilson declared that if it had been a Presidential year the Democrats in the last election would have had a majority of about eighty in the Electoral College—a statement made almost coincidentally with the claim issued by the Republican National Committee that the figures of the last election proved that if it had been a Presidential election the majority in the Electoral College would have been Republican. The President's view of the situation was that, if the Democratic party was a minority party, it was not so much a minority party as the Republican party, and that he wanted to make every independent voter of the country a Democrat.

Concerning Mexico, all that he had to say was based upon the principle that "every people has a right to determine its own form of government," and that until the end of the Diaz régime "eighty per cent of the people of Mexico never had a look-in in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be;" and he added, among other things, these significant sentences:

> It is none of my business and it is none of your business how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of yours how they go about the business. The country is theirs, the Government is theirs, and the liberty, if they can get it—and God speed them in getting it—is theirs; and so far as my influence goes, while I am President, nobody shall interfere with it. . . .
>
> Haven't the European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs? Shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No.

It was in these terms of great self-confidence that Mr. Wilson referred to his Mexican policy, asserting that he never took his opinions of the American people from newspaper editorials, so that when one newspaper "thundered with rising scorn against watchful waiting, Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last; knowing, in short, what were the temper and the principles of the American people." He added, after recall-

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ing again Jackson's spirit: "And so I feel, my friends, in a very confident mood to-day."

In reference to his policy concerning business, two sentences give the key to what he said. One, "There is nothing the matter with American business except a state of mind;" the other, "I never was in business, and therefore I have none of the prejudices of business."

"America," he concluded, "is saving her power for her own people; only America is using her great character and her great strength in the interest of peace and of prosperity. Do you not think it likely that the world will some time turn to America and say, 'You were right and we were wrong. You kept your heads when we lost ours. . . . Now, in your self-possession, in your coolness, in your strength, may we not turn to you for counsel and assistance?' . . . I, for one, pray God that that solemn hour may come, . . . and I thank God that those who believe in America, who try to serve her people, are likely to be also what America herself from the first intended to be: the servant of mankind."

II. THE VIEWS OF THE PRESS

As distance lends perspective, remarks the New Haven "Journal-Courier" (Ind.), the President's Indianapolis Jackson Day speech throws interesting side-lights on the mental habits and attitudes of the Chief Executive.

Democratic policies do not seem to be popular with the people, but the regard for Mr. Wilson personally continues unabated, declares the Washington "Herald" (Ind.). "He is known to be a man of high ideals, irreproachable in his private life, and honestly endeavoring to improve the condition of the people. This knowledge has resulted in a tolerance toward his mistakes and manifests itself in outbursts of enthusiasm such as were witnessed at Indianapolis." The personality of President Wilson is one in which the people of the United States feel a justifiable pride, affirms the Indianapolis "Star" (Prog.), and thus particularizes:

In his accomplishments as a gentleman, in his attainments as a scholar, in his character as a man, he typifies and embodies the finest flower of American citizenship.

Yet he is not well fitted for the rôle to which he assigned himself in yesterday's occasion—that of a popular leader inviting support from the common people in his fight with antagonists of the Administration's programme.

The "Wall Street Journal" (Ind.) points out one reason why:

The President, who occasionally is given to illuminating introspection and revelation of self, declared some time ago that his is a "single-track mind." Therein lies much strength. This has been attested not only by a mental independence and a practical tenacity which confuted numerous predictions as to a schoolmaster's impracticability or gullibility in public administration, but also in a constructive record of legislative achievement. Without that single-track mind there would assuredly have been numerous derailments or even wrecks of substantive programmes.

The Wall Street paper concludes, however, that the President shows something of the uncompromising Covenanter spirit, and that "a single-track mind—lacking in switches or terminal loops—is not immune from mistakes in original surveying."

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The newspapers universally interpret the address as being, in the Philadelphia "Ledger's" (Ind.) words, "the firing of the first gun for the campaign of 1916."

What was the basis for Mr. Wilson's assault? He set up one, namely, that no new ideas had been put in effect by the Republicans for thirty years. This charge, judges the Harrisburg "Patriot" (Dem.), was "admirable." Republican papers, however, dismiss it, as does the Des Moines "Capital" (Rep.), as merely "an echo from the hustings of a bygone day." Independent papers, too, otherwise pro-Wilson, like the New York "Evening Post," do not hesitate sharply to chide the President. It makes no difference, indeed, that Mr. Wilson, in his own words, makes the charge "not as a politician but as an historian." The "Post" says:

Other historians will, we think, give a different account of the matter. They will point out one progressive enactment after another which the Republicans did at least as much as the Democrats in devising and writing into law. More important than any of these minor claims, the Republican party, during the period which the President singles out, has to its credit the solid achievement of resisting and crushing a "new idea" of the Democratic party—namely, the free coinage of silver.

Even such an Independent Democratic sheet as the New York "Times" thus warns Mr. Wilson:

There is one idea about which President Wilson will do well to take serious thought, for

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it has become well noted in this Republic, and which strikes its roots deeper as the opportunity is given for a careful study of the composition, the capacity, and the aims of the Democratic party. It is the idea, the belief, that on the whole the people of the country are better off, more prosperous, and have less cause for anxiety under a Republican than under a Democratic Administration. If that belief prevails in 1916—but that would be prophecy.

On the other hand, the occasion gives rise to searching of hearts, if we may believe such a progressively Republican organ as is the Burlington (Vermont) "Free Press" when it says: "The Republican party can never rewin a host of voters so long as it recurs to such leaders as Penrose and Cannon, who stood for the old order of things. The party must not follow men of that order." The Penroses, the Cannons, the Barneses of Republicanism cannot "even keep their own element victorious for long in any State," another progressively inclined Republican paper, the New York "Tribune," reminds us.

THE INDEPENDENT VOTE

The President gives evidence of his practical political sense, as the Brooklyn "Citizen" observes, by reminding Democrats that they are not numerous enough to win without the co-operation of a considerable body of independents. Especially does he assert that the young men are not irrevocably committed to the Republican party. This stirs an independent paper, the New York "Evening Sun," to the following:

Here in New York, presumably all over the Nation, the Progressive party claimed the support of many thousands of the ablest, the most promising, the most useful of younger Republicans. In a very real sense the Progressive movement of 1912 was a young man's revolt.

It is quite as true that these young men are by no means reconciled to the Republican party. Not a few have returned to the fold. A very considerable number have still declined to return until they have received more convincing proof that there is room for them, for young men and new ideas in an old party still controlled by men devoted to other ideas and ideals of public life than those which attract the enthusiasm of a rising generation.

So far the President is on safe ground. But does any one see any sign of a drift of the young men who were Progressives to the Democratic party? Is there any evidence that Democratic leaders, Bryan, Daniels & Co., Democratic principles which include starving the navy and reducing the army to utter inefficiency and uselessness, appeal to the young men?

Take the foreign policy of the present Administration, the policy of sentiment and scuttle in Mexico, of National unpreparedness, of government by phrase and without grip on the truth, on fact; is there any thing on earth less calculated to appeal to young men than all this?

If there is anything that characterizes the young man it is his enthusiasm, his almost quixotic devotion to the tradition and the history of his own nation. He sees in her the expression of what seems to him noblest and best in all life. Yet it cannot be hidden from him that under the present Democratic Administration American prestige has been lowered abroad just as American resources for defense have been lessened at home.

"SENTIMENT AND SCUTTLE" IN MEXICO

The New York "Evening Post" (Ind.) adds its acute criticism:

The President speaks of the present fighting in Mexico as a struggle for "liberty." Now, the first revolution against Diaz may fairly have been so described. So might possibly the revolt against Huerta, which broke out before Wilson became President. But to picture what is going on now in Mexico—the sordid and ignoble squabbling between rival military chiefs for control of the Government—as a battling for liberty taxes credulity. This does not impugn the wisdom of the President's policy of non-intervention. But it does raise a doubt in the thoughtful whether he is not only an accomplished maker of phrases, but one subject to being led astray by them.

The feeling of the foreign press is thus summarized by the London "Times:"

A good many Americans are asking whether, having destroyed one Government, the United States is to stand by and watch a perpetuity of anarchy set up in its place. To that question the President's Indianapolis speech must, we presume, be regarded as an answer in the affirmative.

THE SHIP PURCHASE BILL

General comment is hardly more favorable to Mr. Wilson's views concerning shipping; it is thus summarized by the Boston "Herald" (Ind.):

The note in his speech which we most regret was its insistence that the Ship Purchase Bill must be put through. This is a very bad measure. It is in line with a decidedly objectionable tendency, that of putting the Federal Government into general business. Mr. Wilson has never identified himself with a cause more untenable. Many of his own party are steadily

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telling him so, and yet he persists in this strange advocacy.

OTHER FEATURES

On the other hand, newspaper criticism has been favorable concerning the President's urging of the enactment of the conservation bills; of legislation to create a Federal employment bureau; also to improve procedure of the Federal courts; and, finally, his reference to the Federal Trade Commission Bill, not only because of its helpfulness to business, but also for the sake of its investigation of commerce and trade abroad, which would lead the way to scientific readjustment of the tariff.

When it came to a discussion of the hard times, he said: "There is nothing the matter with American business except a state of mind." "Of course there isn't," retorts the Waterbury "American" (Ind. Rep). "Unfortunately, Woodrow Wilson's way of doing things is the cause of the state of mind, something he cannot himself conceive." "He makes a sprite of joy of the fact that January did not bring a money stringency because of the necessity of paying out great sums of money by way of dividends," says the New York "Mail" (Rep.), "glossing over the fact that the strain upon the banks did not come with the New Year because there were few dividends to pay under Democratic rule."

In conclusion, many, perhaps most, newspapers agree with this judgment from the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.):

During the last two years Mr. Wilson has performed with remarkable success the veritable labors of Hercules that confronted him when he took office. He has had little time for recreation and repose. His speech gives evidence of the weariness of his mind. He spoke much too trippingly and without due consideration the thoughts that came to him, and he did not make a good Wilson speech. It is below the very high level of his usual achievement, the level which the country expects him to reach; and he said some things that he might well wish to unsay.

III. THE OUTLOOK'S ESTIMATE

Disappointment is the first, the most pronounced, and the most lasting effect which this speech has had upon the minds of President Wilson's fellow-citizens. And the disappointment is the greater because Americans have been led to expect more of President Wilson than of the ordinary high-minded public man. They had reason to expect that in such a speech as this the President would approach his task in the temper of a statesman. Instead he has approached it in the spirit of a political campaigner.

This was the first attempt of the President since his inauguration to review in a large way the achievements of his Administration, to explain the present purposes of his party, and to make to the country an accounting of his stewardship. It was a great opportunity. And it was the greater because the President has succeeded in uniting a once divided party, and in making it the agent of constructive measures of importance and significance. The country would not have been so obviously disappointed in this speech if it had been delivered at the tag-end of a political campaign with the purpose of securing greatly needed votes; for, unfortunately, Americans have been accustomed to expect from politicians, and to condone in them, partisan statements and a partisan spirit inconsistent with a high regard for fact. This, however, was not—certainly it ought not to have been—a campaign speech, but, as it were, a President's report to the country.

On account of their surprise at the character of the speech, the President's fellow-countrymen may be diverted from heeding its good points. The President's frank acknowledgment of the power of the independent vote is likely to be obscured, though it ought to be emphasized by the strong party feeling he displayed. His appeal to the independent voter may have been, as is not unnaturally charged, a bid for the Progressive vote. Whether it was so or not, it certainly is a recognition by a strong and even bitter partisan of the value of the independent voter, for the independent voters were an important group before the Progressive party was formed, and will continue to be an important group whatever the party divisions of the future may be. The bills to which he referred for harnessing water powers and for the control and the use of the public domain are the measures drawn up under the direction of Secretary Lane, whose article in this issue of The Outlook on "Red Tape in Alaska" deals with a kindred subject. These measures are of the highest importance; and the President's sanction of them—even though tinged with partisanship—should be commended and welcomed by the country. The President's recom-

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mendation that the Federal Government undertake to deal with the problem of unemployment The Outlook heartily welcomes. Significant and welcome also is one of the points which President Wilson makes with regard to the tariff. In pointing out that the newly established Federal Trade Commission has power to deal with the tariff scientifically, President Wilson reverses himself. During the Presidential campaign he vigorously opposed the proposal to deal with either the trust question or the tariff by a commission, openly expressing his contempt for experts. Now his statement that the Trade Commission can apply expert knowledge to the tariff question is a surprise to the country, for apparently not even his own party suspected that in creating that Commission it was creating a tariff board. The significance of the President's statement lies in the fact that it indicates a welcome change in the President's mind. By no means a novel point, but one worthy of reiteration, is his recommendation that methods of judicial procedure should be improved.

But other and more important portions of the speech will cause disappointment to his best friends. His treatment of the Republican party, for example, is disappointing as coming from one who explicitly assumes to speak "as a historian." For instance, "the Republican party has not had a new idea for thirty years." Where has this historian been living for the last thirty years? One does not need to hold a brief for the Republican party to recall that it was under that party that the following ideas were promulgated:

Reciprocity, established under the McKinley Law, in pursuance of which ten treaties were concluded with foreign nations.

The Anti-Trust Movement, embodied in the Sherman Law.

Federal inspection of meat and cattle, and Federal supervision of food products, embodied respectively in the Meat Inspection and Pure Food Laws.

The employment of the Federal power to destroy lotteries.

Government of dependencies on a new model, as exemplified in Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The peculiar relation established with Cuba under the Platt Amendment.

The enlargement of the field of government in the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The extraordinary and successful experiment achieved in the Panama Canal Zone.

The idea of a voluntary collection of customs for a neighboring country instituted in the Santo Domingo customs collectorship.

Conservation and reclamation instituted and extended.

Postal savings banks.

Parcels post.

The movement for the conservation of children, culminating in the establishment of the Children's Bureau.

Tariff revision under the guidance of a board of experts.

Federal railway regulation.

The direction of army affairs by a General Staff.

Currency reform instituted by the creation of the Currency Commission.

Whether these ideas are good ideas or bad is not the question—they are ideas. Some of them the Democrats regard as good ideas, for they have in many cases received support without regard to party. The most notable instance is that of currency and banking reform. Unquestionably the greatest achievement of the Wilson Administration was the enactment of the Glass Currency Law; but the whole system which that law put into operation was the product of the Currency Commission established under Republican rule. The one modification of that idea the Democrats made was an important one—namely, popular control of the system; but it was a modification of what had already been conceived and devised. The Republican party organization has committed offenses and has suffered penalties; it has been under the control of men who have lacked scruple and who have consequently lost power with the people; but that fact cannot obscure this other fact, that the Republican party has had ideas and valuable ideas, and has incorporated them in the life of the Nation during the past thirty years. To deny this is not only unhistorical but politically inexpedient.

It is likewise politically inexpedient for the President to attack the motives, character, or mental ability of those who are opposing his Shipping Bill, and to assert without the support of evidence that his views on the subject of that bill are the views of the country. It is always inexpedient to attempt to discredit the policy of an opponent by assailing his ability, character, or motives, and it is always inexpedient to claim for one's own views a wider sanction than is obviously theirs. As

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a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the country needs the Shipping Bill, and there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that if that Shipping Bill became law it would invite perils from which this country might find it difficult to escape and which President Wilson seems altogether to ignore. Of this subject we treat more at length elsewhere in this issue. In dealing with this subject President Wilson, with curious *naïveté*, in the same breath assails his opponents and expresses astonishment that they do not come to him and explain the reason for their opposition. On this subject the President's mind is evidently closed. It is hardly worth while to attempt to offer explanation to a closed mind.

President Wilson's defense of his Mexican policy will excite astonishment in many minds. In us it arouses indignation. He declares himself to be confident of knowing what is best for Mexico, what is best for the United States, and what the American people believe and want. And yet the policy concerning which he expresses such confidence is one to which his own defense does not apply. He says that it is none of his business, none of our business, how the Mexicans go about their task of achieving liberty, and therefore we must not interfere. And this is said by the President who undertook personally to depose from power a Mexican President, who sent battle-ships and soldiers to a Mexican port with consequent bloodshed, and who engaged in a conference with other American Powers to determine what should be done with Mexico. If what the President says is true, then what he did is wrong; if what he did was right, then what he says is untrue. To his defense of his attitude toward Mexico might be applied the quotation: "Conscience tells a man, You have done this; pride tells him, You could not have done this. Very soon pride wins." Did conscience tell President Wilson, You should help Mexico? Does pride tell him, You have done no such thing? But more than that, the President's defense is the defense of the priest and Levite: let the man who falls among thieves fight it out with the thieves; it is no concern of the priest and Levite so long as in proportion to their strength they keep "withholding that strength from the oppression" of either the thieves or their victim. President Wilson's extraordinary doctrine is not only inconsistent with his course, but also inconsistent with his earlier speeches in which he gave fair warning that the United States would not tolerate in that neighboring country the rise to power through bloodshed of revolutionists seeking personal gain. There is something to be said for the view that we should not have interfered at all; that view would have prevented our interference with Huerta or our occupation of Vera Cruz. There is more to be said, in our opinion, in favor of the view that we have a right to interfere both on the ground of self-protection and on the ground of humanity; but that view justifies only an interference that is efficient and effective. There is nothing to be said for a view that countenances inefficient interference combined with ineffectual withdrawal. That Mr. Wilson could have described his own state of mind in the presence of anarchy in Mexico by telling of his sitting back in his chair and chuckling because he believed he has the people with him is an extraordinary self-revelation.

Last, but not least significant of all, was what he said about America and the European war. If President Wilson thinks that France fighting to keep out invaders, or that Belgium fighting not only for its own integrity but its honor and its pledged word, or that England fighting for the inviolability of a neutral country and the right of small nations to exist—that, in fact, any of the Allies who profoundly believe that they are fighting for democracy against military despotism—or that the Germans, who believe that they are fighting for their existence, will ever turn to prosperous America, the inactive spectator of their struggle, and say, to use President Wilson's words, "You were right and we were wrong; you kept your heads when we lost ours," he is, we believe, destined to profound disappointment. If the United States is to have any part in bringing not only peace, but justice, out of this war, it first must rid itself of everything that smacks of smug complacency.

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON AND GEORGE KENNAN

I—A REVIEW OF THE WEEK

BY GREGORY MASON

THE most important military event of the week January 6–13 involved the most important political development also. The collapse of the Turkish invasion of the Russian Caucasus and the utter rout of the forces of Islam at Ardahan and Sari Kamysh apparently counted more for the Allies than even the lodgment of the French in Alsace the week before or the simultaneous penetration of Bukowina and Hungary by the armies of the Czar. The complete failure of the first offensive of the Turk is bound to be tremendously discouraging both to him and to his Teutonic allies.

From a military point of view the Turkish attempt against that part of Trans-Caucasia which was formerly on the southern boundary of the romantic old Kingdom of Georgia seems the height of folly. This mountainous stretch of country has several times before served as a pretty adequate bulwark between the Russian Caucasus proper and invasion from the east and south, and to attempt to win through it now, with the mountain passes heaped with snow, seems an act of desperation.

The Turks made their base at Erzerum, some fifty miles from the Russian border, and launched a double attack toward Ardahan and Kars, which are about forty miles apart in Russian Armenia. Ardahan is about fifty miles from the Turkish border. Kars, some forty miles from this boundary, in a fertile plateau beside the Arpachai River, is a strongly fortified town of twenty-two thousand inhabitants, the terminus of the railways from the Russian army bases at Erivan and Tiflis. In the Russo-Turkish War the Slavs under Louis Melikov tried unavailingly for weeks to capture Kars, ably defended by Mukhtar Pasha, but the city was transferred to Russia by the Powers in the Treaty of Berlin.

The inhabitants of this part of the Caucasus are virile, untamed Tartars and Armenians, and the Germans who planned the Turkish campaign evidently counted upon being received with open arms by these fierce mountaineers, who by race are more closely allied to the Turks than to the Russians. The Russian Government, however, had had the wisdom not to impose military conscription on these liberty-loving mountaineers, and when the latter found their territory invaded they hastened to volunteer to fight for the Little Father. Disappointed in their hopes of aid from the natives, the Turks were at a severe strategic disadvantage in having no railways to help them through the mountain fastnesses, whereas the Russian Staff poured men against them over the lines from Erivan and Tiflis.

Constantinople has rather weakly denied the disastrous outcome of the two Turkish expeditions, admitting a measure of the Russian claims, but there is no good reason to doubt the essential truth of the Petrograd despatches which describe how one army of the Sultan was cut to pieces in a desolate pass eight or ten thousand feet above the sea at Sari Kamysh—on the road to Kars—while the other army was being similarly handled at Ardahan.

It is now natural to expect a Russian move against Erzerum, the well-fortified base of the Turks in Turkish Armenia, for Erzerum is a strategic center of importance for a Russian campaign in Turkish Armenia and central Asia Minor. A material Russian advance in Turkish Armenia means a direct blow at German prestige and the prestige of the Turkish war party of Enver Pasha, which has already been sadly reduced by the fiascos at Ardahan and Sari Kamysh. The war has not been popular with the masses of Turkey, although it could probably be made so by a successful invasion of Egypt. Owing to British preparedness, however, such a consummation is extremely unlikely, and with Russia in Turkish Armenia, dissatisfaction with the German method of running Turkey might become a factor to be seriously reckoned with. Grumblers are already saying in Constantinople that Turkey is being used as the pawn of the Kaiser, and that General Liman von Sanders, who came from Berlin to coach

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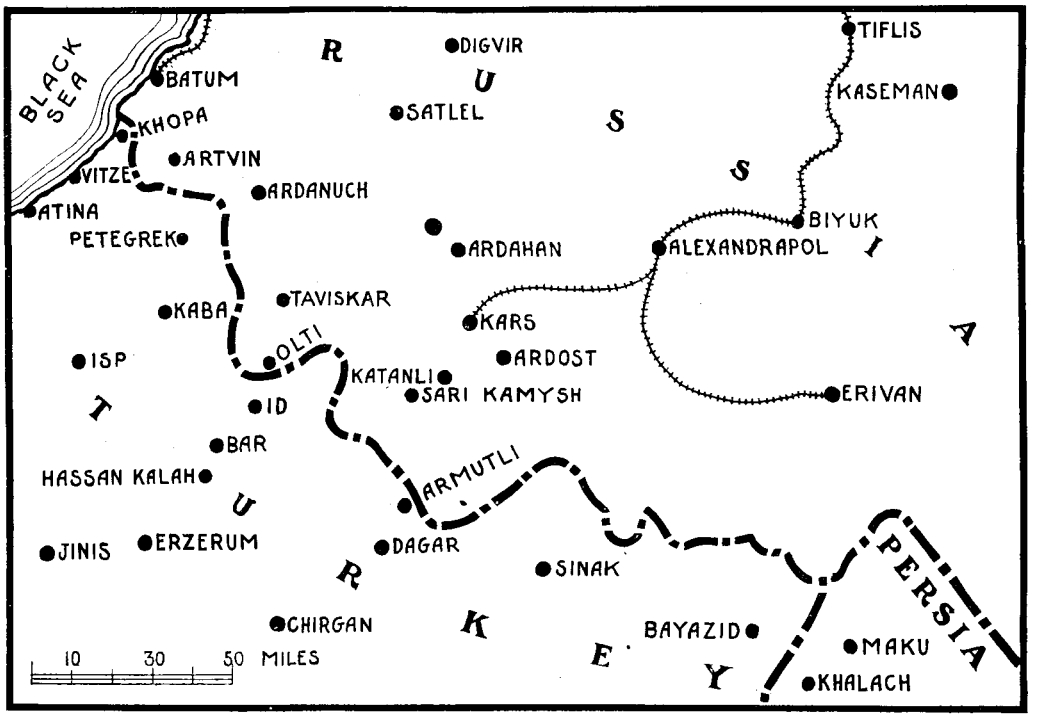

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CAUCASUS

The recent defeat of two Turkish armies—one at Ardahan, and the other at Sari Kamysh on the road from Erzerum to Kars—halted the Ottoman campaign in the Russian Caucasus, and may have grave political results in the Sultan's Empire. The Russians brought up masses of troops over the railways from their bases at Tiflis and Erivan, but the Turks, after leaving their base at Erzerum, were forced to travel over difficult mountain roads clogged with snow. The remnants of the Sultan's forces are now somewhere near the border, hoping to block the Russians from Erzerum, which would be a center of strategy for them in a campaign in Turkish Armenia and central Asia Minor.

the youth of Islam, deliberately sacrificed the two armies in the Caucasus in the hope that their appearance in that region would so distract the attention of the Czar that he would let up a little on exhausted Galicia and bleeding Hungary. Now comes word from Rome that the bombardment of the allied fleet has so damaged the forts holding the Dardanelles that the eventual passage of the tortuous strait between Europe and Asia is not unlikely. The strategic importance of the Dardanelles has been recognized since the time of Xerxes and the great Alexander, and the loss of them, which would probably mean the capture of Constantinople, might lead to serious outbreaks against Enver Pasha and his German allies in Islam. At any rate, the great significance of the Turkish failure in the Caucasus is that it has weakened the Kaiser's grip on Turkish sympathy, none too secure at any time since Baron von der Goltz failed to develop a winning Ottoman army in the first Balkan War.

Is the Sick Man of Europe again playing his historic part as the "goat" of Continental politicians? Is the emaciated remnant of the great Ottoman nation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which since the raising of the siege of Vienna in 1683 has had province after province pared from it—is this once great Empire again to be humbled to the advantage of some European Power? It is difficult to see any other future for Turkey. The Porte has everything to lose and nothing to gain. A victory for the Allies means the loss of Constantinople, and the end of Turkey-in-Europe. A victory for Germany means the gradual extension of German influence in Asia Minor and the creation of a virtual zone of Austro-German territory about a railway from Budapest to Bagdad. Letters received by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions are not the only evidence to the effect that there is little likelihood of a successful "Holy War," and the recent setback of the Porte in the Caucasus makes it more than ever unlikely that the Kaiser will get any more allies in this war, for no one wants to jump into what appears to be a losing game. The possibility that any

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of the Balkan States will now side with Germany brought to bay is slight, while Rumania and Italy seem to be trembling on the verge of a decision to go in and get their immediate share in the promised dismemberment of Austria and Turkey.

A QUAINT PREDICTION

Apropos of Turkey's future, a friend has called my attention to a prophecy in regard thereto contained in an old book of prophecies said to have been published in 1453, and reprinted in "Isis Unveiled," a Theosophical work written thirty years ago by Mme. H. P. Blavatsky, then Corresponding Secretary of the Theosophical Society. Here is the prophecy:

"In twice two hundred years, the Bear
The Crescent will assail;
But if the Cock and Bull unite,
The Bear will not prevail.
In twice ten years again—
Let Islam know and fear—
The Cross shall stand, the Crescent wane,
Dissolve and disappear."

"Twice two hundred years" from 1453 brings us to the date of the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Russia attacked Turkey, which was saved thanks to the united efforts of France (the Cock) and England (the Bull). "Twice ten years" from the close of the Crimean War brings us to 1876, when friction developed between the Sultan and the Czar, which culminated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8. Since then Turkey has lost everything in Europe but a mere foothold—the Crescent has undoubtedly been on the wane; and even though we may have little faith in the occult and in the rather remarkable prophecy above quoted, may we not well believe that the celestial symbol of Islam is about to "dissolve and disappear" from world politics?

TENACITY IN THE WEST

The armies in Flanders and northern France continue to be fog-bound and mud-stalled. The most significant news bearing on the situation in this quarter is a despatch from Holland saying that Germany is bringing to the western battle-line new troops—probably the first of the hastily trained men of the *Ersatz*—the Replacement Reserve. Germany can hardly bring up enough men to offset the force of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 soldiers which Lord Curzon the other day intimated would be ready before summer, together with those which Russia would bring up. The English are terribly earnest and practical in the way they are handling this war. An illustration of this spirit was the delightfully Spartan reply attributed to Lord Kitchener recently when some one asked him when the war would end.

"I don't know when it will end," England's foremost soldier is reported to have said, "but it will begin in May."

That is the spirit of the cruelly tenacious method which enabled the hero of Khartum to crush the brave Boers by persistent use of sheer weight and numbers, and which carried the steam-roller of Ulysses S. Grant over the similarly valiant and futile resistance of the South in the American Civil War. It is the method of a long-winded boxer opposed to a less enduring but heavy-hitting antagonist, making no effort to score a knockout until the same antagonist has worn himself out by his own efforts.

In Alsace the French won a few yards near Altkirch, and held their important gain of the preceding week, but their most interesting feat was a successful charge on skis down the sloping snow carpet at Bonhomme, on the Alsatian frontier—as picturesque a bit of warfare as the combined sea and air attack on Cuxhaven the other day, and the sort of thing that will live in the literature and legend of the great war as Thermopylæ, Balaklava, and Paul Revere's Ride live in the literature of other wars. While the Germans, on the mountain slope, were engaging French infantry below them, a detachment of French Alpine troops coasted down upon their flank from the heights above, careering into them at tremendous speed and completely demoralizing the phlegmatic Germans. If some one would invent a pedal attachment that would carry men over the Flanders mud as skis bear them over the Alsatian snow, his fortune would be made and the end of the war much hastened.

POLAND A SHAMBLES

In the east, with really admirable persistence, the Germans have been making slow progress toward Warsaw, continuing to throw away lives as freely as if the Fatherland's population were as irreducible as the heads of the Hydra. Mr. Stanley Washburn, of the London "Times," who is one of the few writers at the front who have succeeded in getting real war correspondence of the old-fashioned colorful kind that flourished when MacGahan, Steevens, and Archibald Forbes

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were in their prime, writes to his paper from Russian Poland:

"The sacrifice of life has been enormous. One of the trenches near the Bolimow woods was charged thirteen consecutive times in one night. The Germans came in close columns every time. After the tenth attack had been stopped the bodies of the dead were piled so high in places that the Russian riflemen were unable to shoot over them upon the Germans when they attacked the next time. Men were then sent out to heap up the bodies in such a way as to form embrasures for machine guns. The next two attacks and the last were repulsed from behind this shelter of bodies."

We Americans, who stood aghast at the outbreak of the war, but who have since fallen into such a complacency that we now read the war despatches in about the same frame of mind in which we would read of a rather protracted international polo contest, occasionally stumble upon a passage like that in our newspapers, which awakens us again to a dim realization of its horrors.

THE FATE OF BUKOWINA

During the week Russia has been more active than any other nation. For political importance her invasion of Hungary and the small Austrian province of Bukowina, pocketed in the Carpathians among Hungary, Russia, Galicia, and Rumania, vies with her exploits in the Caucasus. Bukowina, which has changed hands several times since as part of Turkey it was invaded by the Russians in 1769, seems destined to be part of the spoils of this war also. There are many groups in its heterogeneous population of eight hundred thousand who would prefer Romanoff rule to Hapsburg, but Bukowina will hardly have any more to say in the determination of its own fate than a mouse which is the prize of contention among several cats. As I said last week, the occupation of this tiny province by the Czar's forces is bound to be a strong moral aid to the war party in Rumania. The Allies continue to iterate and reiterate that Rumania will join them as soon as she has completed the gathering of equipment, much of which she is getting from the Allies. It is doubtful if Rumania has the army of half a million men which some of her friends claim for her, but if her strength is less than half of that figure her entrance in the arena would mean a considerable complication in the problem that is now trying the tempers of German and Austrian statesmen. With Rumania under arms, Austria would find herself attacked along her northern, eastern, and southern frontiers, all the way from Cracow to the Adriatic. This might be the beginning of the end, for Germany would have to come strongly to her ally's assistance, and thereby weaken her own lines of defense in France, Belgium, and Poland. Indeed, as we go to press it is reported that Germany is massing several army corps in Austria, some to be used in aiding the Hapsburgs' soldiers in a new lunge at Servia, others to help against the "barbarian hordes" that are overrunning Hungary from the north.

GERMANY AND HER ALLIES

Germany must by this time be disgusted with the inefficiency of her Teutonic ally. An amusing and apparently veracious report reaches me of discord and jealousy between German and Austrian prisoners in Russia. So black is the feeling between them, it is said, that the Russians have been obliged to place them in separate trains when taking them across country to the prison camps in Siberia—where there are already 170,000 Austrians alone. The Germans, it seems, taunt the Austrians with charges of cowardice and ineptness for modern warfare, blaming them for Germany's failure to triumph decisively in the eastern war zone. The Austrians, on the other hand, call the Germans cocky, conceited, and overbearing, and lament that the German idea of the alliance with Austria is that of a union between a lion and a mouse, with Germany in the lion's part.

In the early days of the war German statesmen predicted that there would soon be discord among the Allies of to-day, as there was among the Allies who fought Napoleon. Thus far, however, the only signs of dissension are between Germany and her allies. They are naturally irked by her assumption of supreme importance in the *Dreibund*, while she, fully as naturally, is fretted by the evident inferiority of the Ottoman and Hapsburg arms to the arms of the Kaiser. The alliance between England, France, Russia, and Japan is an alliance among military equals; the union of Germany, Austria, and Turkey is a federation of disproportionate and badly matched elements, and therein lies its weakness.

The afternoon papers of January 13 reported that two German submarines had been sunk by British land batteries in a com-

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bined sea and air attack on Dover harbor. If this be true, it will greatly cheer the inhabitants of the British coast towns, who have come to consider the German submarines as almost invincible.

New York City, January 13, 1915.

II—THE WAR AND THE RUSSIAN JEWS

BY GEORGE KENNAN

IN the historic "war session" of the Russian Duma, August 8, 1914, when the representatives of the various nationalities and political parties of Russia were given an opportunity to express their feelings with regard to the Government and the war, Deputy Friedman, from the province of Kovno, spoke in behalf of the Russian Jews as follows:

"Members of the Imperial Duma: Upon me has been conferred the high honor of giving expression at this historic moment to the feelings that inspire the Jewish people. In the great spiritual uplift which has come to the nation the Jews fully participate, and they will go to the field of battle shoulder to shoulder with the other nationalities of the Empire. Although we Jews have long suffered, and are still suffering, from grievous civil disabilities, we feel, nevertheless, that we are Russian citizens and faithful sons of our Fatherland. Nothing will ever alienate us from our country, nor separate us from the land to which for so many centuries we have been attached. In defending Russia against foreign invasion we are actuated not only by a sense of duty, but by a feeling of profound devotion. In this hour of trial, and in obedience to the summons from the Throne, we Russian Jews will take our stand under the Russian banner and repulse the enemy with all our strength. The Jewish people will do their duty to the end." (Storms of applause and cries of "Bravo!" from the Right, the Center, and the Left.) [1]

Five months have passed since Deputy Friedman expressed the devotion of the Russian Jews to their country, and promised that they would "go to the field of battle shoulder to shoulder with the other nationalities of the Empire." Has that devotion been shown in deeds, and has that promise been faithfully kept?

If anything stands out clearly on the pages of recent Russian history, it is the magnanimity and patriotism of the Jews. Denied many of the rights of citizenship, forced to live in a great national ghetto, restricted in the learned professions, limited to a small quota of students in the universities and schools, crowded into cities within the Pale and expelled from cities without the Pale, insulted constantly by the reactionary press, accused of "ritual murder" in the courts, and beaten to death by *pogrom* rioters in the streets, the unfortunate Jews would seem to have little reason for loyalty or patriotic feeling; and yet since the war began they have subordinated personal resentment to a higher sense of duty, and, for the sake of "the Fatherland," have done all that the most ardent patriots could do to support the monarch who has oppressed them and to defend the State that has discriminated against them.

Soon after the war began the Jews in Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa, and many other Russian cities began to hold meetings in their synagogues to pray for the health and safety of the Czar, and for the success of the Russian armies in the field. At the same time hundreds of young Jews in the universities and higher technical schools who were not liable to conscription volunteered for active service and were sent to the front. Even Jews who were awaiting trial on political charges or who were already suffering imprisonment for political offenses offered to enlist as volunteers, and promised that, if they should still be alive at the end of the war, they would give themselves up for trial or go back to prison and serve out the unexpired term of their sentences. "We cannot bear, they said in their petition, "to sit idle in prison cells while our comrades are fighting for their country and ours." ("Russkoe Bogatstvo," September 14, 1914, p. 316.)

As the war proceeded, and the Czar began to go back and forth through Russia on his way to and from the front, Jewish delegations in all the larger towns where he stopped came to him with plates of bread and salt

[1] Stenographic report of the proceedings of the Duma, August 8, 1914.

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(the Russian emblems of hospitality and good will) and presented him with addresses breathing the most ardent spirit of loyalty and patriotism. In one such address they said:

"It gives us great happiness to know that our brothers and sons are shedding their blood for the sake of their monarch, for the honor of the country that is so dear to them, and for the cause of right and justice with which your Imperial Majesty's name will forever be gloriously associated. We beg you, O Gossudar, to receive this assurance of loyalty from your faithful subjects who are followers of the Mosaic law."

In places which the Czar did not visit or in which he did not stop the Jews went with patriotic addresses to the highest local representatives of the Church or the State; and this they did even in towns where at the hands of Church or State they had suffered most injustice. If there be in all Russia a city where the Jews might naturally regard the Russians with enmity and the Government with resentment, it is the city of Kishinef—the scene of the bloodiest anti-Jewish *pogrom* that has ever blackened the history of the Empire. But even in Kishinef the Jews hastened to show that their consciousness of civic duty was stronger than their sense of injustice. They could not get access to the Czar, so they went with bread, salt, and assurances of loyalty to Archbishop Platon, the local representative of the Holy Orthodox Church. The high ecclesiastical dignitary received them with as much courtesy as could have been expected, and said, in reply to their patriotic address:

"The Jews are completely united with us and they have proved their loyalty. I am personally aware of the fact that they have contributed large sums to the Red Cross and other organizations for the relief of our wounded. Their devotion to the country is beyond question."

In almost every city and large town in Russia delegations of Jews have called on the civil or ecclesiastical authorities and presented addresses confirming or repeating the assurances of loyalty given in their behalf by Deputy Friedman in the Duma.

"But," it may be said, "it is easy enough to pray in the synagogues and make professions of loyalty in patriotic addresses. Have the Russian Jews done anything else?"

If the Russian newspapers are to be believed, they certainly have. A recent number of the Petrograd "Reitch" contained an article on this subject in which the writer said:

"This fact" (that the Jews have actively participated in the war) "does not admit of the slightest doubt. Not only have they made enormous pecuniary contributions, but as soldiers they have shown miraculous courage on the field of battle, and many of them have received military decorations. Such behavior on their part, however, is not to be regarded as especially meritorious. It is only the performance of a sacred duty to their country, and Russian Jews could not act otherwise."

The same paper publishes also an article commenting upon the fact that in the lists of killed and wounded telegraphed from the front there are Russian names, Polish names, Tartar names, and Armenian names, but not a single name that can be recognized as Jewish. The paper explains, however, that the absence of Jewish names is due to racial discrimination. "Only casualties to officers are reported by telegraph, and no Jew is permitted to become an officer. If deaths and injuries of private soldiers were telegraphed, the lists would be thickly sprinkled with Jewish names. The Jews share in the work of the nation on the battlefield as well as at home. Wherever national help is needed, there they participate with contributions and work."

But even racial discrimination fails to exclude Jewish names wholly from the newspapers. They may not become officers, but the Russian generals who command them insist that they shall have crosses of honor for gallantry in action, and then their names are telegraphed and published. The highest military decoration that is given in Russia is the Cross of St. George, which corresponds with the Iron Cross of Germany and the Victoria Cross of Great Britain. Every few weeks a common Jewish soldier distinguishes himself so greatly that he is awarded this coveted honor, and not long ago a Jew won two of these decorations in a single week. The latest case that has come to my attention is that of Mendel Glückman, who received the Cross of St. George about a month ago for a whole series of daring exploits under the walls of Przemysl. (Petrograd "Reitch," November 22, 1914.)

Moscow and Petrograd newspapers publish many letters from Russian officers describing the bravery of Jewish soldiers in action. In one of the most recent of them Lieutenant Gogulinski says:

"There were eight Jews in my company,

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and at the time when I was wounded only two of them were left alive. One hardly expects Jews to show fighting characteristics; but in my very first battle I became satisfied that the Jewish soldier is a real soldier, with plenty of daring, self-sacrifice, and indifference to death. Almost every one of them thinks first of his duty and his comrades. I have witnessed their devotion to the wounded, and I have seen them climb out of the trenches at deadly risk and bring back through a storm of bullets men who had been disabled in a charge. One Jewish bugler, for example, left shelter in that way for the purpose of bringing in a wounded comrade who was slowly bleeding to death in the open. He succeeded in crawling up to him, but before he could do anything more he himself was killed by a bullet in the spine. Then a second one made the attempt, and he succeeded in dragging the wounded man into the trenches. . . . After a bayonet attack in which many were killed or disabled I went with a couple of stretcher-bearers to a group of wounded, where, lying side by side, were a Russian and a Jew. A bullet had smashed the Russian's collar-bone and another had gone through his leg. I ordered the bearers to take up one of them, and they began to lift the Russian. He refused assistance and said: 'Take the Jew; he's hurt worse than I am.' The Jew's face was gray and blood was running out of his mouth; but he whispered faintly: 'I've got only one wound; he has two. He's suffering the most—take him first.' How natural, but how fine!" [1]

In another letter Cornet Novikof, of a hussar regiment, writes:

"Meyer Lovinski, born in the village of White Church, died a hero's death on the 26th of August, near the forest of Lashchova. Disregarding a heavy fire, he rode constantly in advance, reconnoitering coolly the enemy's dispositions. But a bullet hurled the gallant scout from his saddle and he died heroically for his country, his Czar, and his people. On the following day we recovered his body and turned it over to the Jews in Lashchova, who buried it with all honors in the Jewish graveyard. May the kingdom of heaven receive my dear Lovinski—unforgetable comrade and fellow-soldier!"

In this last letter two things are particularly noticeable: first, the tribute of a Russian to the coolness and gallantry of a Jew in action; and, second, the affection of a Russian for a Jew in an environment of danger and death. Cornet Novikof seems wholly to forget that the dead man was an alien and an unbeliever, and evidently hopes to meet his "dear, unforgetable comrade and fellow-soldier" in the kingdom of heaven.

But it is not only Russian lieutenants and cornets who speak well of the Jew. The "Russkiya Vedomosti," of Moscow, published recently a letter from the well-known philanthropist N. A. Shakhof, pleading for justice to the Jew, and closing with the words: "One wants to believe that better days will come for Russia's stepson, and that he will be in future not the stepson but the real son of the Fatherland for which he is shedding his blood." A Russian general at the front read these lines a week or two later, and was so moved by them that he wrote an open letter to Mr. Shakhof over the signature "A General in Active Service," in which he said:

"It is impossible to read your admirable letter—and especially the part of it that refers to the Jews—without a feeling of approval and sympathy. The great and warm heart of the Russian people, like gold in the furnace, is only now showing its worth. Less and less frequently are heard expressions of intolerance and hatred, and more and more apparent become the virtues that lie in the depths of the Russian soul. I profoundly believe that a multitude of our people, whose consciences and Christian feelings have not been smothered by hatred, and whose common sense has not been eclipsed by prejudice, will join heartily in your hope that the Jew may soon become the real son, and not the stepson, of the Fatherland for which he is shedding his blood."

If the Russian Jew is thus regarded by "generals in active service;" if Russian archbishops declare that his "devotion to the country is beyond question;" if Russian commanders in the field recommend him for the Cross of St. George; and if his Russian leaders in battle refer to him when he is dead as their "dear and unforgetable comrade and fellow-soldier" and hope to meet him in the "kingdom of heaven," who are his haters and persecutors?

This question I shall try to answer in another article.

[1] I witnessed a similar incident at the battle of San Juan Hill in Cuba, but in that case the wounded men were both of the same race, nationality, and religion.

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RED TAPE IN ALASKA

BY FRANKLIN K. LANE

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

A CITIZEN who wanted to lease an Alaskan island for fox-farming carried on a correspondence with three different departments of the Federal Government for several months in an effort to determine which had jurisdiction and authority to make the lease. It was finally decided that none of them possesses this authority!

To appreciate fully the possibilities for such red tape and circumlocution in the handling of the public business of Alaska as this incident illustrates it is only necessary to bear in mind that the control of lands is in one department, of forests in another, of roads in another, of fisheries in a fourth, and of railways in still another. The care of the black bear is intrusted to one department and the care of the brown bear to another!

There is a government of the forests, a government of the fisheries, one of the reindeer and natives, another of the cables and telegraphs. There is a government for certain public lands and forests, another for other public lands and forests.

Division of authority and responsibility under this system, combined with the effort to direct administration at long distance in compliance with general regulations designed for the United States as well as Alaska, naturally results in much red tape and confusion.

Especially is this true with relation to the administration of the laws for the disposal and protection of the public lands and natural resources. There is one procedure for making homestead, mineral, and other land entries within the National forests; another procedure for making such entries in lands outside of the forest reserves.

Water power and water sites within the forest reserves are leased and operated under permits from the Forest Service; there is question as to whether authority exists for disposal or leasing of water power elsewhere in Alaska.

Vast areas in the forest reserves are entirely untimbered, but are held under the regulations of the Forest Service, while timbered lands in other sections are unprotected.

Timber in the National forests is sold at auction under rules and regulations of the Department of Agriculture. Timber on lands outside these reserves is sold under wholly different rules and regulations made by the Interior Department.

The general laws permit the exportation of pulp made from timber cut off the public lands in Alaska, but forbid the exportation of the timber itself.

It has taken as long as three years for patent to issue in uncontested land claims in Alaska after final certificate was issued, merely because of the lengthy procedure involved in securing the proper filling out of the papers.

In filing a homestead location notice the homesteader in Alaska, on unsurveyed land, must stake his claim and in his notice describe it by metes and bounds, with reference to Government monuments, trees, rivers, or other prominent landmarks. The location notice is filed with the recorder of the district. Before making entry the homesteader must then go or apply to the Surveyor-General, whose office is in Juneau, for a survey. If there is no contest or protest, the Surveyor-General appoints a deputy to make a survey of the homestead claim. This survey is made at the expense of the homesteader. After it is completed it must be approved by the Surveyor-General at Juneau. Then the entryman takes his survey to the land office of the district in which his claim is located and applies to make entry of the land. Notice and a plat of the claim are posted on the land and printed in the local newspapers. If there is no contest against final proof on a homestead claim, the register and receiver of the local land office pass on the proof and issue a final certificate. If there is a protest, the proofs are sent to Washington and a field investigation is ordered.

Orders for field investigations on land claims are sent from Washington to Portland, Oregon, and forwarded from there by the Chief of Field Division to the agent in the field in Alaska. If the papers are received early enough in the season and the special agent who receives them has not too much other work, the field investigation may be made the same year it is ordered.

If there is no protest against a final proof, or after a field investigation has been

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made of such proofs, the claim and proofs are sent by the Land Office in Washington to the Geological Survey for such data as that Bureau may have concerning the nature of the lands involved in the claim.

The Geological Survey notes upon the application whether the land in question is listed as mineral or non-mineral, and whether it is shown by the geologic records to contain coal, petroleum, mineral or thermal springs, or reservoir or power sites. Following the receipt of this information, the Land Office, in due time, may grant a patent for the land.

It will be seen that, in the event of any question arising over an entry which prevents the local register and receiver from issuing a final certificate, the papers in a homestead case, after final proof is offered, must make at least two round trips between Washington and Alaska before patent can issue. If there is a contest, or any complication arises out of the claim, this long-distance correspondence may be almost indefinitely extended.

To illustrate the red tape which prevails in the methods of handling Alaskan land business, let me present the history of one or two land claims in Alaska. The cases cited are typical, taken at random from the files of the General Land Office:

Walter H. Marrett built a house and established residence on a homestead claim near Haines, Alaska, in April, 1902. His claim was on unsurveyed and unreserved public lands. In 1908 he applied to the Surveyor-General for a survey of his claim. The survey was begun September 8, 1908, and completed September 10, 1908. On March 22, 1909, Marrett filed at the Land Office at Juneau an application to enter the lands embraced in the survey, which had cost him up to that time about $700.

On November 13, 1909, Marrett went to the Land Office at Juneau with his witnesses and completed the final proofs. Six days later there was issued to the entryman final certificate No. 0433, in which it was stated that "on presentation of this certificate to the Commissioner of the General Land Office the said Walter H. Marrett shall be entitled to a patent for the tract of land above described."

The application, final proof, and other papers were sent to Washington to the General Land Office. There is no record of any action on these papers in the Land Office in the following year. On November 11, 1910, Marrett wrote to the Commissioner of the Land Office asking why his patent had not been issued. He received a reply informing him that action on his entry had been deferred awaiting instructions from the Department under the Act of June 25, 1910, providing for the withdrawal of lands for coal classification.

On December 22, 1910, the Commissioner of the Land Office referred the claim to the Geological Survey, asking information as to whether any coal or petroleum deposits were embraced in the entry.

On March 9, 1911, the Director of the Geological Survey wrote to the Commissioner informing him that the Survey had made no examination of this land and had no data on the subject, but believed that no deposits of coal or petroleum occurred in that vicinity. In the meantime Marrett wrote to Delegate Wickersham requesting his aid in securing the patent to his claim. The patent was finally issued May 25, 1911.

It will be noted that, although action on the final proof was deferred for a year and a half, pending determination as to whether or not the lands involved contained coal or petroleum, there was no field investigation or examination of any kind of the land, and when the patent was finally issued the Land Office really had no more actual information concerning the nature of the land than it possessed at the time of the issue of the final certificate.

It would seem as though local administration of the land laws might be such as to relieve honest homesteaders of the burden and trial of such delays, to reduce the apparently excessive cost of surveys and to secure prompt action in actual examinations of lands involved, so that patents might be issued, when deserved, without delay and upon certain information concerning the nature of the lands.

The experience of Valdez, Alaska, in securing a town site and disposing of the same is another example of the red tape in the present process of procedure.

In March, 1899, the people of Valdez made application to the Surveyor-General for a town-site survey. There was a conflict, due to the claim of the War Department that a part of the site had been taken as a military reservation, and the survey was suspended, no further action being taken until October, 1902. In 1904 there was a Presi-

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dential order reserving space for military purposes, court-house, and jail uses, and in 1911 another Presidential order making a reservation for a cable landing.

In April, 1910, a trustee was finally selected and a survey completed. After the thrashing out of several contests by prior claimants to part of the land, the town site was finally patented in June, 1912, and the trustee's work approved and the accounts closed within the past few months.

In the course of settling the affairs of this town site the papers in the case made so many trips between Alaska and Washington that it is impossible to trace their actual journeys, as even the records are now divided among several departments. The time consumed in allowing patent and completing the accounting of town-site disposals in Alaska has varied from three to ten years.

The claim of Mrs. Mary A. Dabney, of Seattle, Washington, to Jumbo No. 1 Lode is a classic in circumlocution with respect to mineral claims. Mrs. Dabney recorded her location October 9, 1906; the survey was made September 22–24, 1908, and approved by the Surveyor-General January 21, 1909. Application for patent was made March 24, 1909; but, despite the fact that there was no protest against the validity of this entry and no conflicting claims, the mineral entry was not patented until October 17, 1913!

The delay of more than three years in patenting this claim, it would seem, might have been cut down to a few months, with a saving of much expense and effort in correspondence, if the case had been handled by an officer in Alaska with full authority to order investigation on the ground and prepare the entire case for the General Land Office.

But the red tape in the government of the Territory applies not only to the handling of land grants and the like. There is much confusion and duplication of authority and responsibility in other lines—for example, in the protection of the native fauna of Alaska.

Many of the islands frequented by birds are set aside as bird reserves and are under the protection, so far as the birds are concerned, of the Biological Survey. The Survey sends a keeper in the summer to guard some of these islands, but otherwise has no representative in the Territory and has performed no other activities—except to place some reindeer, secured from the Bureau of Education, on one or two islands.

Game animals throughout Alaska are protected by wardens hired by and under the direction of the Governor of Alaska. These wardens enforce regulations made by the Department of Agriculture and are paid from an appropriation made to and disbursed by the Department of the Interior.

Fur-bearing animals are under the protection of wardens appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, and work under regulations made by this Department.

The Department of Agriculture has sole authority over the taking and shipping of specimens of animals for scientific and propagation purposes, excepting reindeer, which are controlled by the Interior Department.

Last summer an agent of the Bureau of Education discovered evidence of wholesale slaughter of walruses, and reported it as menacing the food supply of the natives and their dogs. He had no authority in the matter, and his report, when sent to Washington, was forwarded to the Department of Agriculture, where it was decided that the killing was illegal, but that there was no machinery available for effectively preventing such slaughter!

An amusing and, to some extent, troublesome conflict of authority has been occasioned by the law making the brown bear a game animal, under the control of the Department of Agriculture, while the black bear is recognized by law as a fur-bearing animal under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce. The question has more than once come up for judicial consideration whether every brown bear is a game animal, even if its parents are black. The law is ambiguous but was intended to afford protection to the "great brown bear" or Kadiak bear, and did not take cognizance of the fact that in a litter of black bears one cub may be black and another brown. In other words, *a* brown bear is not necessarily *the* brown bear.

Regulation of the salmon and other fisheries and enforcement of the laws is under the direction of the Commissioner of Fisheries of the Department of Commerce. How inadequate the present service is may be gathered from the following pertinent paragraph in the latest annual report of the Commissioner:

> The laws and regulations have, in general, been well received by the fishing interests, and, with rare exceptions, have been respected throughout Alaska so far as the field agents of the Bureau have been able to determine. The

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region is so vast, however, and the facilities so lamentably inadequate for reaching the various fishing localities, many in number and widely separated, that personal inspection in many cases was utterly impossible.

In the last ten years the Government has spent approximately $300,000 for the introduction of reindeer into Alaska and the encouragement of the breeding of this animal by the natives as a food supply. There is increasing interest in the reindeer as a meat supply not only for Alaska but for the United States as well. Because of its ability to find its own food throughout the year, without shelter or care, the propagation of this animal is peculiarly adapted to Alaskan conditions, and there are millions of acres of lands where the summer grasses and winter lichens or "reindeer moss" will support large herds.

So far the reindeer industry has been closely guarded and monopolized for the benefit of the natives. Placing the value of existing herds at $25 an animal, the Bureau of Education reports that the increase of herds and their sale since the introduction of reindeer has enriched the natives to the amount of $1,162,000.

Since it has been demonstrated that the reindeer meat can be successfully shipped and sold in the United States at a profit to the growers, and can be made a more or less important auxiliary food supply for this country, the question is pertinent as to whether or not the future monopoly of the industry by and for the natives is justifiable. Under existing conditions the only way in which white men may secure deer for breeding purposes is by purchasing them from the Laplanders, whose herds are small and remote, or by importing breeding specimens from Asia, which is costly. Should this condition maintain, it is only reasonable to expect that the available supply of reindeer meat will be entirely in the hands of the natives of Alaska —a condition which would hardly make for commercial activity or the best results from the standpoint of the consumer.

One does not have to touch upon the inadequacy of the road system in Alaska, upon the manner in which the sealing industry is being conducted, upon the need for additional telegraph lines and ocean cables, to see that the Territory of Alaska is being held prisoner in fetters of red tape, which will have to be struck off before the vast wealth of this portion of the United States can be realized.

The patchwork system of administrative machinery now in operation has answered well enough, while the Government's policy has been merely to keep the door shut and discourage development, but it will not answer under the new policy of settlement and expansion.

If the work needed in the future were to be purely and solely administrative, it must still be efficient and under responsible and readily responsive supervision. Alaska's remoteness alone makes anything like supervision by bureaus located in Washington more or less perfunctory and superficial. What we now have in Alaska is little more than a number of independent and unrelated agents, acting largely upon their own initiative, each attending only to some special branch of police work, and no branch adequately organized to cope with its own problems without even attempting to co-ordinate its work with that of the other branches.

But the task of administering the laws relating to the disposal and development of the public domain and resources in Alaska is also a task of construction. The problem is the settlement and development of the country and of all its resources to the best advantage. Each branch of work, now under a different supervision, is a part of one and the same problem. It is a huge task which is ahead; but it is a single task, and to undertake it successfully it must be put into the hands of a single authoritative directorate.

I have pointed out in some detail the shortcomings of the present system—its delays, red tape, circumlocution, divisions and overlapping of authority, as well as the discouragements which it offers to settlers whom we want to encourage. To secure effectiveness we must eliminate the delays, the red tape, and the confusing and confused machinery now in use, and substitute for it machinery which will be direct, prompt, and certain in its operation—a development board appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The salaries of the members of this board should be sufficient to enable men of ability to devote themselves exclusively to the work of the board, which should have its headquarters in Alaska and the homes of its members in that Territory. It should have authority to appoint its own agents and supervise their work. The board should make its reports and be directly responsible

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RED TAPE AND CIRCUMLOCUTION IN ALASKA

Nine National departments, through twenty-three separate offices or bureaus, deal with the public business of Alaska. Their several duties and responsibilities are graphically shown below:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Forest Service. Controls use and sale of lumber, homesteads, mineral rights, power sites, etc., in Chugach and Tongass National forests, with combined area of more than 25,000,000 acres.

Biological Survey. Has charge of bird reserves; controls scientific investigations and experiments in propagation and development of animal life.

Experiment Stations. Maintained for encouragement of agriculture, experiment and demonstration of farming methods, crops, cattle breeding, etc.; sells crops grown on experimental farms.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

Maintains buildings, conducts coaling station, and makes tests of native coal; sends vessels to coast in course of cruises; maintains and operates wireless telegraph stations along coast.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Road Commission. Controls building of roads and trails with funds appropriated by Congress and set aside from license receipts.

Engineer Corps. Controls surveys, estimates, and work on river and harbor improvements.

Signal Corps. Controls construction, maintenance and operation of cable between Alaska and the United States and inland telegraph lines and wireless telegraph stations.

The War Department also maintains barracks and troops in Alaska.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Controls collection of customs duties, internal revenue, income tax; supervises and plans construction of public buildings; maintains revenue cutter service; makes public health regulations; maintains life-saving service.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Controls mail service.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Bureau of Fisheries. Protects seals and foxes and sells sealskins and fox skins on Pribilof Islands; controls leasing of certain islands in Aleutian group for fox ranching; employs wardens and makes regulations for protecting fur-bearing animals; supervises and regulates fisheries, canneries, etc.

Census Bureau. Takes the decennial census.

Bureau of Lighthouses. Constructs and maintains lighthouses, fog and light signals along coast.

Coast and Geodetic Survey. Charts and channels rocks and obstructions to navigation along coast.

Steamboat Inspection Service. Inspects and licenses steamboats, engineers and officers of steamboats.

Navigation Bureau. Makes and enforces navigation rules and regulations.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Controls court machinery, marshals, United States attorneys and commissioners, and generally administers law and justice in the Territory.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Has charge of enforcement of immigration laws.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

General Land Office. Controls entry, patent, and disposal of public domain; controls and disposes of timber on public lands outside the National forests; disposes of applications for homesteads, mill sites, mineral claims, trade and manufacturing sites, town sites, coal and oil sites, and rights of way in public lands; controls water power and power sites outside of National forests; handles accounts and returns of Surveyor-General's office.

Geological Survey. Investigates mineral formations, coal and oil fields, water supply and stream flow, hot springs, etc.; makes topographical and geological maps of the Territory.

Bureau of Mines. Supervises inspection of mines and mining; enforces mining laws.

Bureau of Education. Supervises education of Eskimos and other natives and reindeer industry among natives.

Secretary's Office. Supervises care and custody of insane; handles general correspondence as to Alaskan affairs; disburses appropriation for protection of game by wardens appointed by the Governor under rules and regulations of Departments of Commerce and Agriculture; acts as clearing-house for general Alaskan matters, and performs other functions not specifically charged to other departments.

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for its actions to a single Cabinet officer—the Secretary of the Interior.

The board would do the work now done in Alaska by the General Land Office, the Forest Service, the Road Commission, the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Education, and the Secretary of the Interior. It should take over a part of the work of the Bureau of Fisheries, because there are good reasons why the control of the seal industry, the salmon hatcheries, and the sea fisheries should be left in the hands of the Department of Commerce. Beginning at the shore line, however, the development board should have complete control of all Government activities and interests connected with the development of industries and transportation and the settling of the country, including the control of water powers, building and maintenance of roads and trails, and operation of the railways and telegraph lines.

The board should likewise supervise the protection and control of game, fur-bearing animals, public lands, mineral deposits, coal, oil, gas, hot springs, timber lands, and timber, together with the work of education among the natives and the supervision of the reindeer industry.

All of these activities are closely related; all form a part of the one big Alaskan problem. Their direction should all be in the same hands.

It is probable that such a board as proposed would discover most of the present separate and overlapping inspection and police forces in the Territory to be unnecessary and would secure greater efficiency by having some of these special policemen do general patrol duty. The duties of forest rangers, game wardens, protectors of fur-bearing animals, reindeer guards, bird wardens, etc., would not seem to be of a nature requiring such a high degree of expert and specialized knowledge and ability that they might not all be performed by the same men, and in that case much of the present duplication and multiplication of cost and effort would be eliminated, with the addition of increased effectiveness.

Under the proposed consolidated administration of land and resources a single set of experts and agents would be more efficient than the present duplication of field forces. Instead of lengthy and involved correspondence between agents in the field and several Bureaus in Washington to determine questions of law and of fact, the questions of fact would be determined on the ground, and all the papers in any land claim would be thoroughly prepared before the case came to Washington.

From time to time new laws and new policies must be adopted by Congress to enable the fullest fruition of the promises of Alaska. Under present conditions we have recommendations from numerous sources for changes in the laws and policies. These recommendations have to do, usually, with only a single phase of the big problem of how the country may best and quickest be developed. Each bureau or department, charged with only certain duties and responsibilities, recommends changes in the laws affecting the particular function it performs. There is no place where these various changing needs of the country are brought together, correlated, and framed into a consistent, workable, general programme or policy which considered in all its aspects the needs of the whole country. Such a duty the proposed board would perform.

Although a statement of the receipts and expenditures in Alaska at present, and for past years, shows a large discrepancy on the debit side of the ledger, this is by no means discouraging. There are many items of governmental expenditure in the Territory that are not fairly chargeable to Alaska. Probably one-half or more of present and past expenditures come under this head. The deficiency remaining in the revenues is one that may be easily overcome.

Alaska can be made self-supporting within a very few years, as soon as conditions are created which will enable settlement and development and produce revenues. So far the Government has done little, aside from care of the seal herd, to bring returns. It is unreasonable to expect revenue from an undeveloped and unsettled country.

With disbursements and receipts passing through one and the same channel, with a broad concept of needs and conditions on the part of a single responsible body, and with revenues and expenditures reported to and by this board, there could be presented to Congress each year a comprehensive Alaskan budget which would make legislation simpler and more intelligent.

But Alaskan resources must be dealt with as a whole—as a single problem of large management. The proposed development board for Alaska follows this modern and well-tested plan for securing efficient administration.

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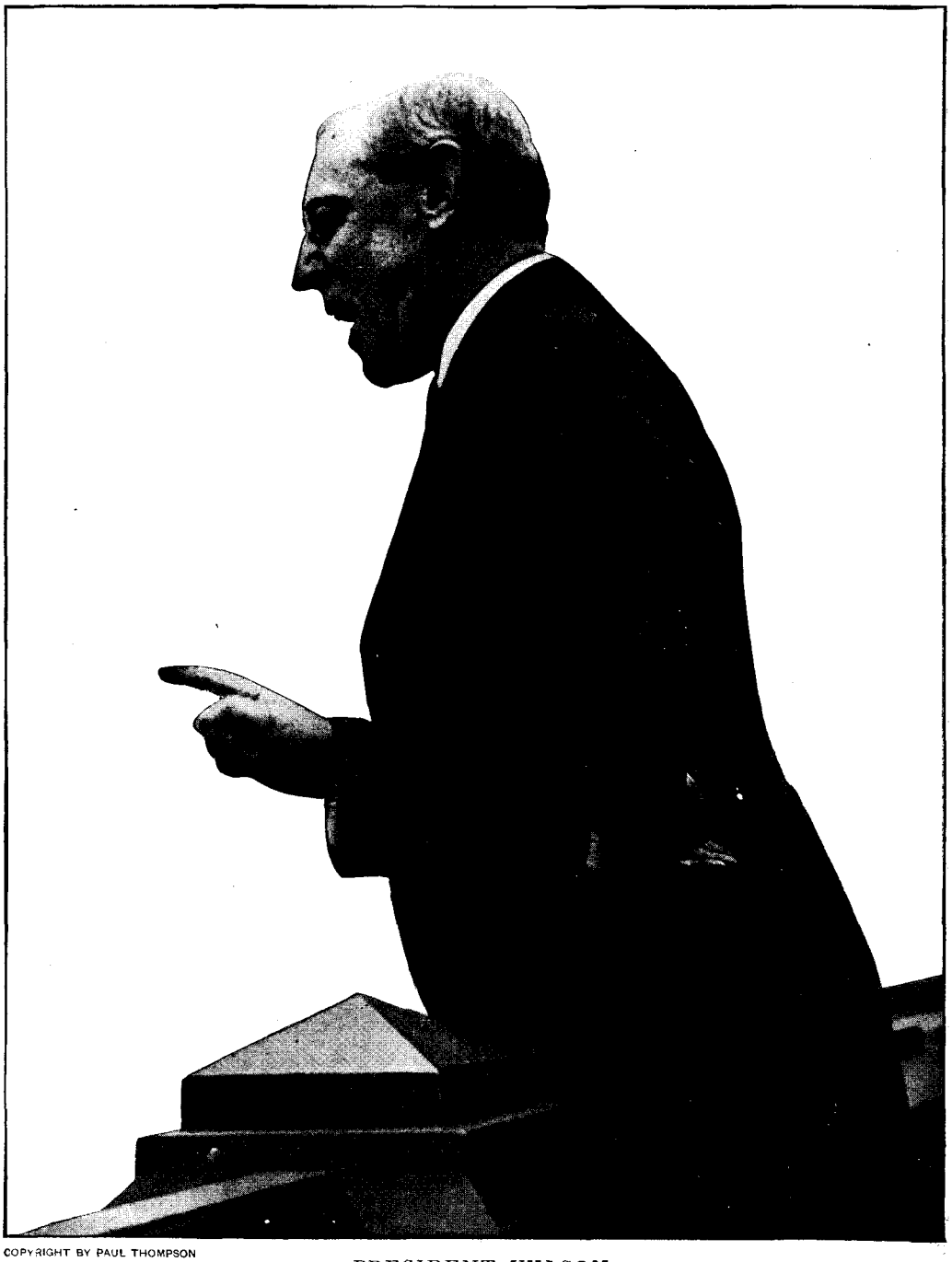
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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PRESIDENT WILSON

See editorial pages for a review and interpretation of his recent statement and defense of his policies

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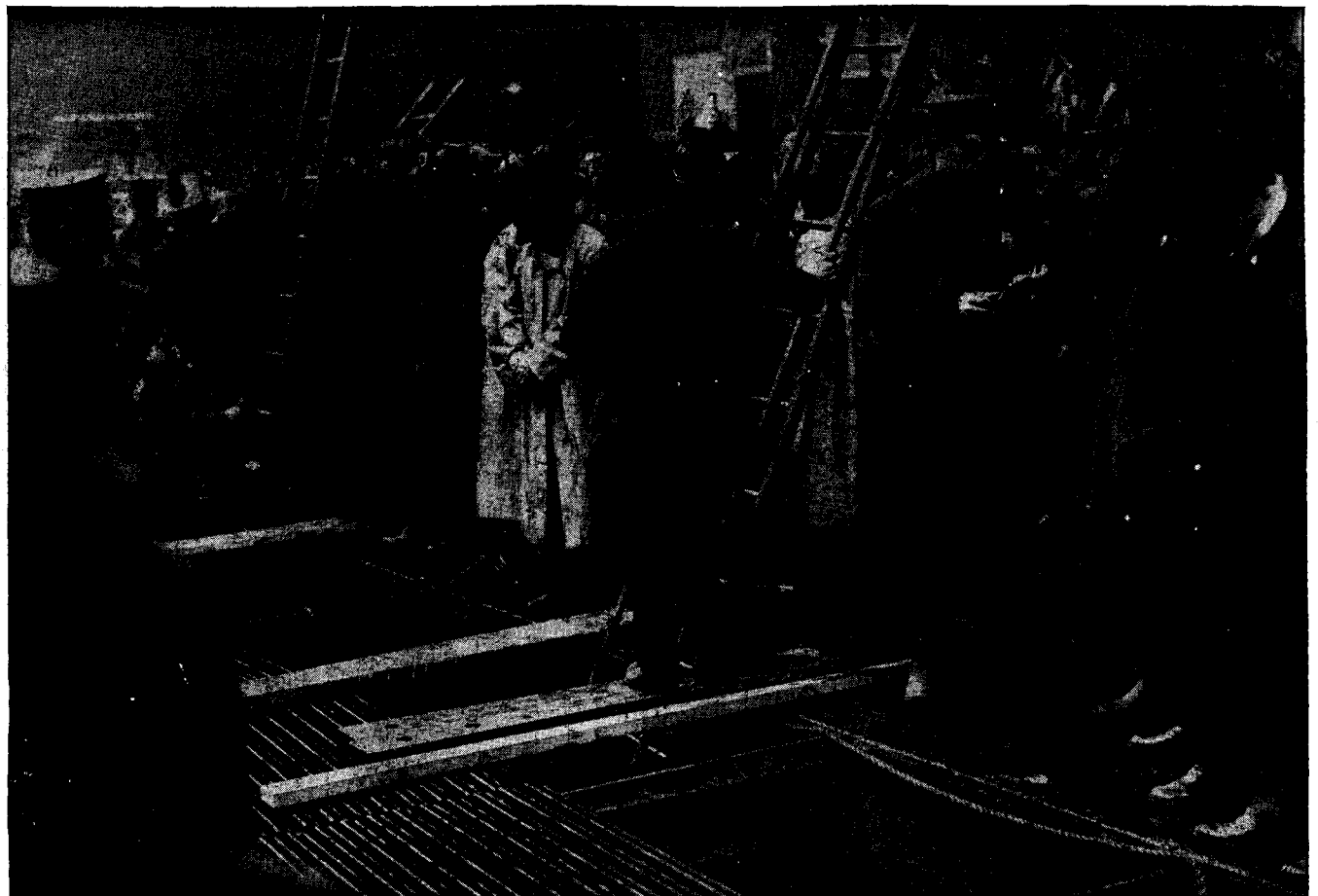

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NEW YORK'S SUBWAY ACCIDENT

The short-circuiting of a cable in the subway caused one death, prostrated a large number of passengers as a result of their inhaling smoke, and tied up the underground system for nearly a day. The picture shows the ventilators in the sidewalk through which the firemen brought up nearly two hundred victims of the disaster; these were resuscitated by the use of pulmotors. See editorial comment

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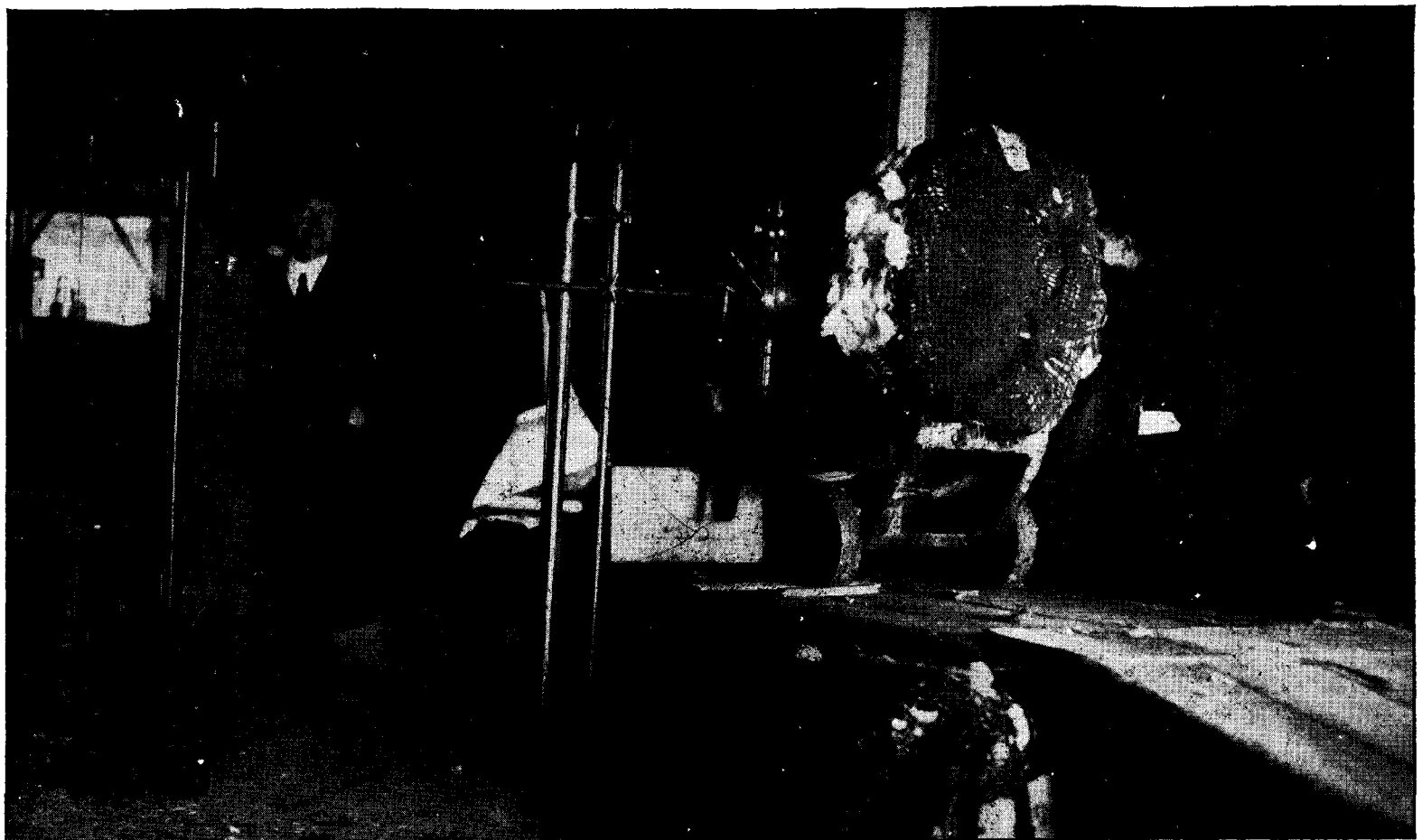

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TESTING BALES OF COTTON FOR CONCEALED ARMS

The photograph, taken on a pier in New York City, shows the application of X rays for the purpose of ascertaining whether arms or ammunition are hidden in a cargo of cotton consigned to Bremen, Germany. This is but one of a number of methods used for discovering concealed contraband. If the hiding of war material in ships' cargoes were effectually prevented by the United States Government, there would be no such pressing necessity as now for Great Britain to cause delay in the transit of American goods for the sake of making painstaking examination, and thus one of the reasons for the American protest to Great Britain would be removed

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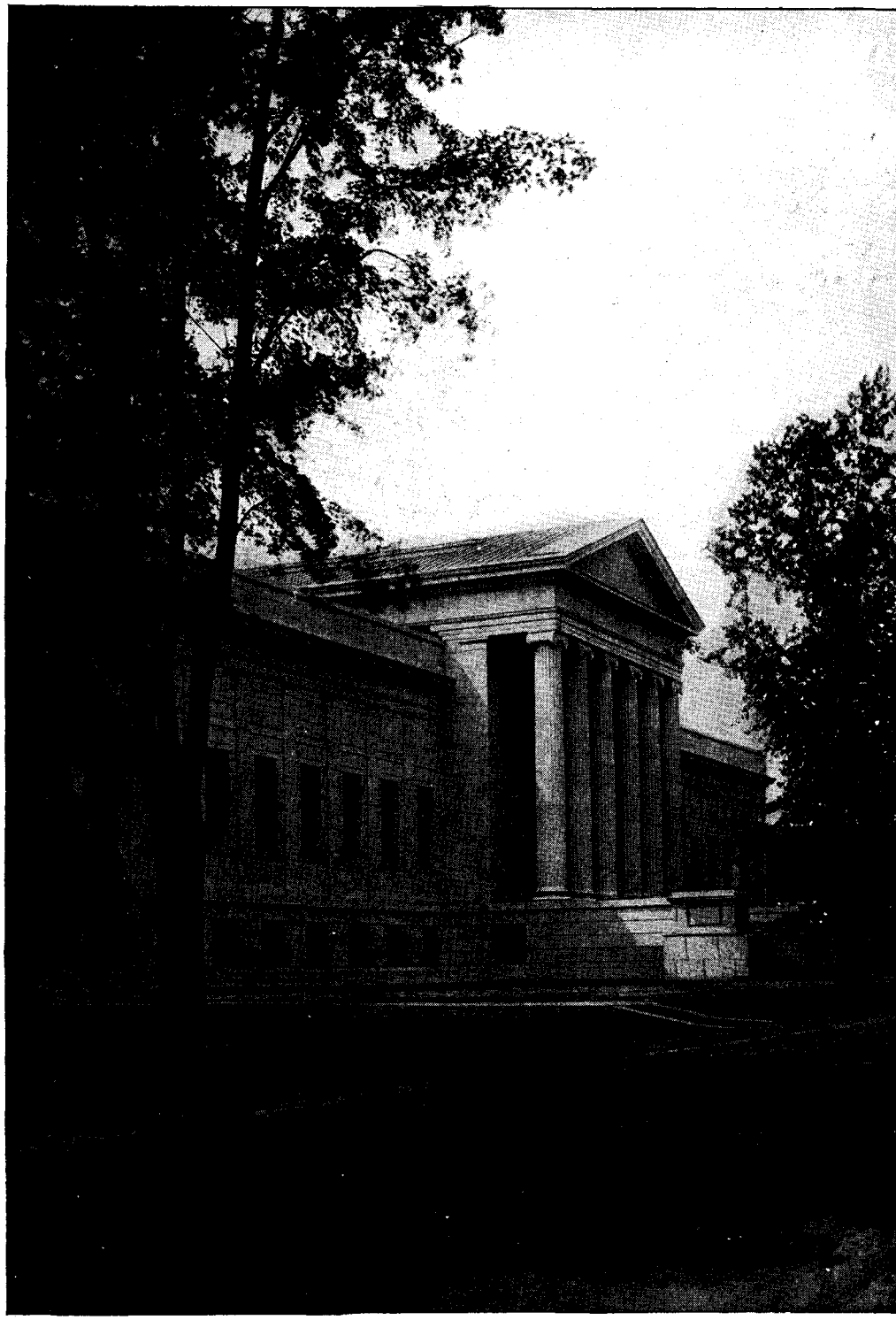

THE MAIN ENTRANCE

THE NEW MINNEAPOLIS

See editorial pages for comment

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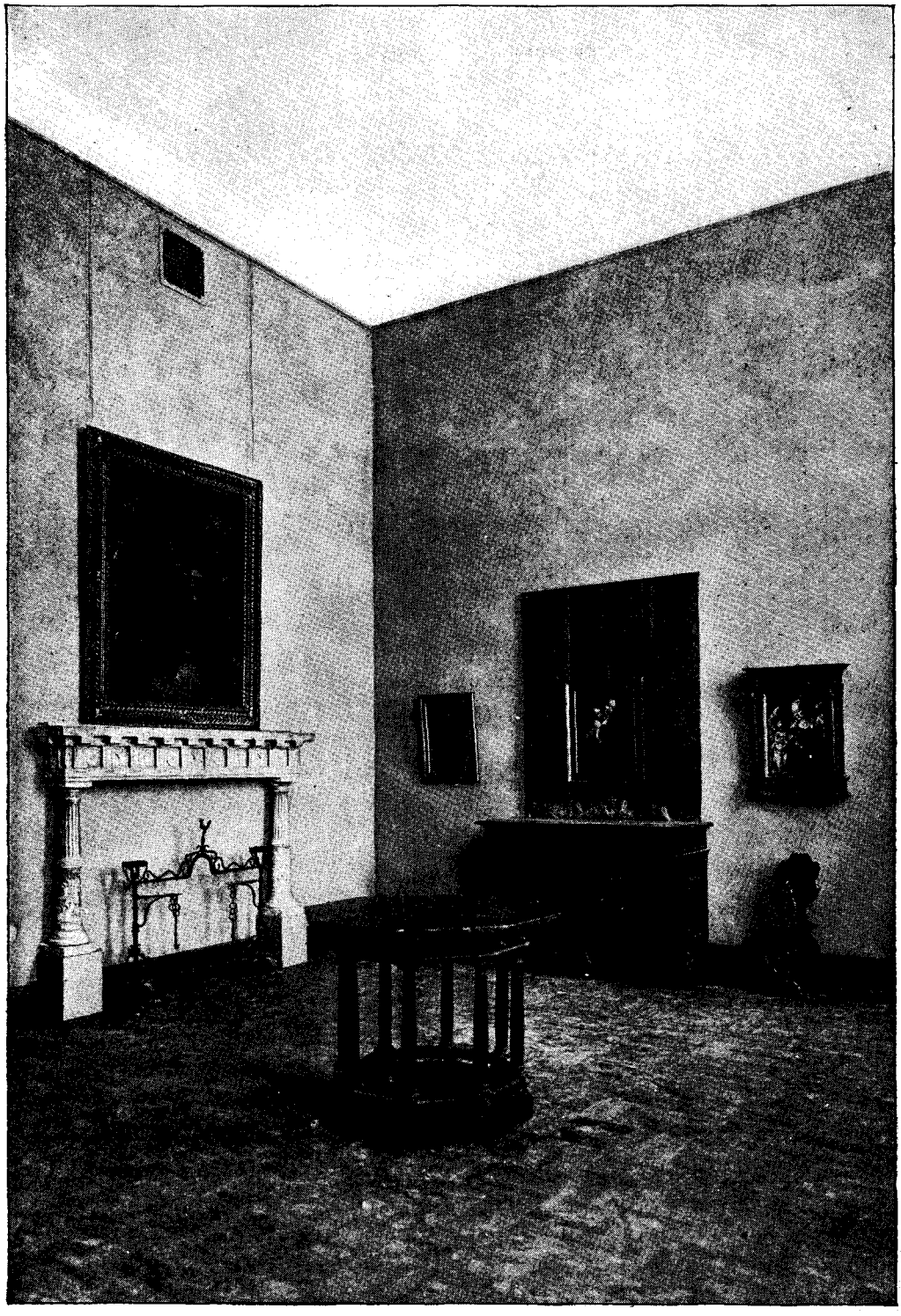

THE RENAISSANCE ROOM

INSTITUTE OF ART

on the opening of this museum

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BELGIAN BABIES BORN ON ENGLISH SOIL

The women of Hampstead, England, have provided a home for Belgian women and their babies. The babies shown in the picture were born in this place since the war began and after their mothers had been obliged to leave their homes in Belgium

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BELGIAN REFUGEES ARRIVE IN AMERICA

The refugees shown in the photograph are the first to arrive in America with the intention of taking up farm life. They were sent to this country by one of the relief associations. One of the provisions of the new Immigration Bill, not yet law, exempts such Belgian immigrants from the literacy test and contract labor prohibition

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CARDINAL MERCIER, OF BELGIUM

The picture shows the Cardinal during his recent visit to London; he is engaged in conversation with T. P. O'Connor, the well-known Member of Parliament and editor. Cardinal Mercier has, it is reported, been arrested by the German authorities since his return to Belgium on account of his alleged anti-German propaganda. This, however, has been positively and officially denied by Germany. His reported arrest has been a subject of diplomatic conference between the Vatican and Germany's representative in Rome, Prince von Buelow

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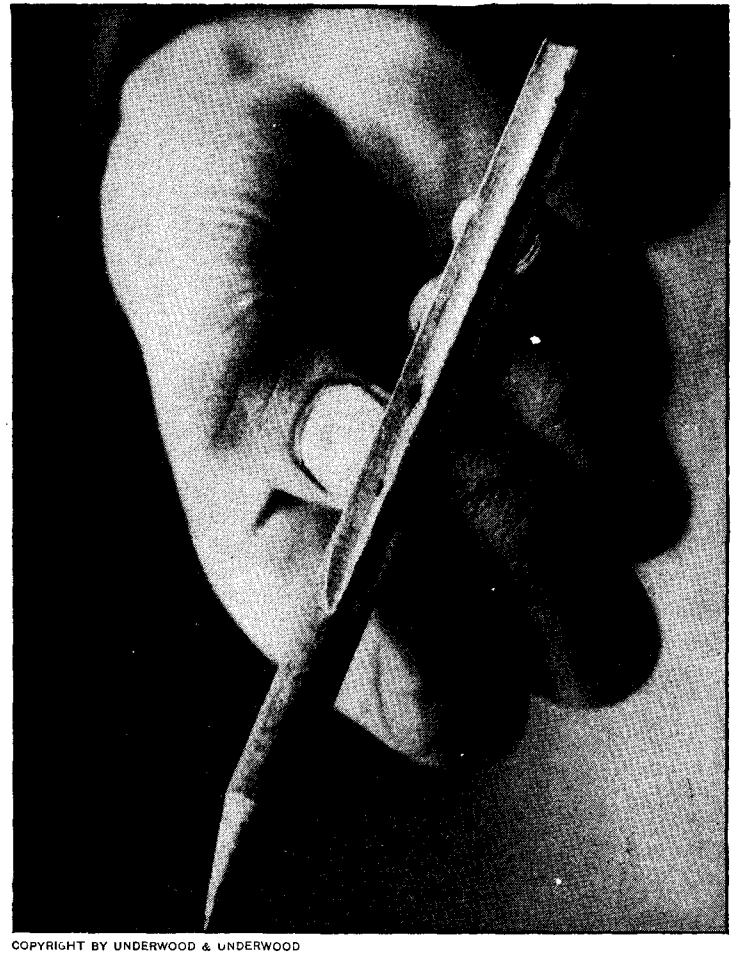
PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

ATTACHING AN AERO BOMB TO A GERMAN AEROPLANE

The number of these destructive weapons which can be carried is limited and their aim is uncertain



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THE "FLECHETTE," IN USE BY THE FRENCH AVIATION CORPS

This little steel arrow, not much larger than a lead pencil, is a dangerous missile when dropped in numbers from a great height

AERIAL WEAPONS EMPLOYED IN THE WAR

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AN AMERICAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE WAR ZONE

BY EDWARD A. FILENE

Mr. Filene went to Europe last summer as Vice-President of the International Chambers of Commerce, and was there when the war broke out. He was to arrange for a system of arbitrating commercial disputes between the nations represented in the International Chamber of Commerce movement. This commercial arbitration plan was agreed upon by a thousand delegates who met in Paris in June under the auspices of the French Government, the delegates including men of importance from the various nations, such as the President of the German Reichstag. As Mr. Filene was in Europe when the war broke out, he was determined to take that opportunity to see for himself, if possible, the actual effect of warfare on the people involved. The notes he made, only part of which are here included, represent his impressions jotted down in moving automobiles, on railway trains, in out-of-the-way inns, and actually, in some instances, on the battlefield immediately following the fight.—THE EDITORS.

Cologne to Brussels, October 14, 1914.

LEFT at 3:40 with auto; followed a military auto to Aix-la-Chapelle; uneventful trip; at Enpert, on the Belgian border, stopped by sentry in the middle of the road; showed our passes. At Vieserone came the first short, sharp "Halt!" as our auto did not stop quickly enough. Verviers is apparently unchanged, although in some small villages before we reached it many of the houses were in ruins. Verviers lay stretched along a great length; there were many people in the streets; it was apparently a manufacturing town. On the outskirts of the town our chauffeur suddenly informed us that his lights were not working, and that we had better stay in Verviers overnight. But two officers' wives had induced us to offer them a place by their story that they were seeking their husbands in Brussels, as they had telegraphed that they would be there within two days. These eager young wives clamored to go on, and so, after further consultation with the chauffeur, I decided to do so, although with some hesitation. I felt a bit doubtful of the wisdom of going on, as there are numerous stories of people in autos being shot by sentries jumping up suddenly in front, there not being time to stop quickly enough. However, although we were very often challenged and stopped from Verviers on—perhaps eight or ten times—yet in all the dark places the sentries had lanterns, which they swung as a signal to stop. We asked the password of one of the sentries who had examined our papers, and with that password we managed to pass one sentry without showing our papers. However, the examination by each sentry was very superficial and seemed to consist mostly in examining the seal. From Verviers on we passed villages the houses of which were either entirely or for the most part destroyed, although we also passed some which were unharmed, showing that the Germans made a distinction and did not destroy simply in order to destroy. In almost all cases the destruction of each house was very complete, only the walls remaining. In one village we did not see a single inhabitant left. At one place on the road I had to get out with my pocket electric light, and found the main road barricaded with barbed wire. The tangles were most effective, stakes having been driven firmly in a maze fashion and the wire fastened in a way most difficult to remove, and more difficult or impossible to surmount in a combat. Here we had to take a by-road which led around one of the outer forts of Liège, then on to the main road, and finally into Liège. Here we were again halted a number of times in quick succession by sentries. We found quarters in the Hôtel Couronne, a third-rate lodging-house, but apparently moderately clean, with running water. We had to go out to the Grand Hotel for dinner; there we found many German officers. There is no doubt about the military occupation of this city. Sentries are at the street corners and before the important buildings, cannon ready to be used at points of advantage, and the patrols are accompanied by Belgian policemen, so that if any attempt is made to shoot the patrol there

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will be danger for the policemen. All the inhabitants must be in their houses at 8 P.M., and we were challenged and obliged to show our papers when we came from dinner at 10 P.M.

Liège, October 15, 1914.

The morning sun is shining on the white flag on the opposite house, on a woman's face gazing through a curtain, on the three sentinels below at the street corner; and, on the bank of the river opposite, the dog teams are carrying in vegetables. A dog team passes with a sick woman wrapped in a blanket and a little child. We breakfast while the hotel-keeper tells us his story and of his neighbors shot without cause, he firmly believes, on the place in front of the University. He thinks the trouble commenced with German soldiers who had got into a wine-cellar during the day and drank too much. Personally I have never seen a drunken German soldier during my stay in Europe since the war began. Later on a Belgian, although he, too, was full of bitter resentment against the Germans, told me that he had heard, and personally believed it to be true, that some of the Russian students of the University had fired on the Germans. We saw about fifty houses destroyed.

Liège to Brussels,
October 15, 1914.

10:30. Stopped by sentries five times already. Little village church tower is shot away—no other damage visible. Long trains of wagons convoyed by soldiers—new intrenchments being built outside of Liège, also wire entanglements. We were refused permission to visit the Liège forts, as they were being rebuilt.

11:25. St. Trond: about fifteen thousand inhabitants. We were stopped and had to get our passes stamped at the headquarters. A few houses destroyed on the outskirts. Just stopped again by sentry. Am getting accustomed to them and talking to them. This sentry said that his company lost five killed and sixteen wounded by *franc-tireurs* (civilians) near Liège. "Poor things!" he said; "they think they die for their country just as we do, but—"

12. Small village outside of Tirlemont literally gutted.

12:20. Tirlemont: interesting; large square cathedral; saw about six houses destroyed. Stopped three hours by sentries and had passes stamped. Bavarian soldier said: "Beer is dear. We make three pfennigs changing a mark for one and a quarter francs, by military orders. German time replaces Belgian."

12:30. Small villages almost entirely destroyed everywhere, though some houses are unharmed. Another village with very few houses destroyed—road barricaded; another sentry stop. Apparently no work except on the fields all along the route.

Brussels, October 15, 1914.

Arrived shortly after 4 P.M., after having passed through Louvain this noon and staying there about two hours. This is the town that has been so constantly cited as evidence of what the Germans have done. I found the center of the town practically destroyed; nearly every house there was gutted, including the fine university library and the cathedral. The latter, however, was not entirely destroyed inside, and workmen were cleaning up the débris. The roof was still there, although it had many solid shot or shrapnel holes. The magnificent Hôtel de Ville was apparently unharmed. The Germans say that by actual count only ten per cent of the buildings of the town are destroyed; but while we saw that the workmen's quarter and the university and its surroundings were not destroyed, yet it seemed to me that almost all of the important buildings were gone. The Germans report that the inhabitants murdered nearly two hundred soldiers of the garrison by a preconceived plot, and were, of course, punished. The inhabitants I talked with deny this strongly, although they seem to be thoroughly cowed. The whole impression of the place and other "punished" places along the route was disheartening; yet we met everywhere small groups of natives with bundles of all descriptions trudging back to their former homes.

Brussels, October 16, 1914.

There are no taxis, only a very few cabs. Only one paper appears—a single sheet which the Brussels people say is published by the Germans. "Bread is scarce," a woman told me. She could buy none this morning. All the autos are used by German officers—no private autos are seen. The crowds wander up and down the streets and are kept off the big square at night (in front of the station and Palace Hotel) by the police. Troops of German infantry, artillery, etc., pass. The policemen are still Belgians. This hotel, the Palace, has few, if any, guests, except Germans, mostly officers. Coal is

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scarce—petroleum scarcer; salt also is scarce, I am told. Factories, etc., are not working, lacking raw material, transportation, etc.

Said a Belgian of international fame:

We have been living here in constant terror of our city being destroyed. The Germans have threatened to hold the whole city responsible for the deeds of one or two madmen. The nervous strain is enormous. Since the fall of Antwerp it is better; the Germans now have all Belgium, and some of the danger is less. What Brussels has suffered, not only from a material point, but from a moral point of view, is indescribable: no telephone, no telegraph, no letters, no security from spies, no certainty, even, that our homes were safe—no more law—no possible way of justice by the regular courts. The spirit of the population is splendid—we are all closest friends, we Belgians. The King nominated Vandervelde to be Minister of State at the beginning of the war. He is the leading Socialist, but the people rejoiced. Bread is scarce. The city government fixes the price of bread at 32 centimes a pound, and usually the bakers fix the amount each man may have at 2 1-5 pounds (1 kilogram) and the city government makes up any loss to the bakers. Coal is $10 a ton.

Brussels, October 17, 1914.

Said a leading Belgian to me:

Burgomaster Max met the German troops at the gate. The first German officer said to him: "*Was wollen sie?*"

Max answered: "*Je ne comprends pas l'Allemand.*"

The officer then said: "*Que desirez-vous?*"

Max said: "I want to telegraph your Kaiser, who was the guest of Brussels, and I am sure he will order that the German troops do not march through."

An interview was arranged, and when the Commander of the Army Corps came he stretched out his hand to Max, who refused it, saying, "I cannot take the hand of the enemy of my country." Finally the General said, "I shall sleep in the City Hall."

Max said: "There are plenty of hotels where you can sleep better."

The General said: "I shall sleep here and want six beds brought here."

"Well," said Max, "if you insist, then there will be seven beds, for I shall sleep here also."

In the night a German came to his room, demanding the key of the Gothic room, and Max said:

"I am not the porter, that you should come to me for a key. But I assure you that I am the only Belgian in the City Hall, and my door will remain unlocked."

Max put out placards later denying explicitly and formally what the Germans had posted he had said. The letter-carriers refused to carry any letters after the Germans had taken possession of the post-office.

The hygienic position of our population has never been so good. The working people have had no alcohol since the Germans came, and whole classes who have been overworked have at last had a rest long enough to recuperate. Strikes have been greatly used in Belgium as a protest. They say, "If we are not free we will not work," and the cessation of work in Belgium is in part due to this point of view. Since Antwerp has been taken the people, or at least the leaders, feel that the support of the Belgian army by the people refusing to work is no longer good. Now they are beginning to think of resuming. The question is how. Metallurgy is the principal industry—machines, etc.—and eighty-five per cent is exported. But all the iron ore must be imported. The sentimental protest is finished and was successful, for it finally really united the Walloon (German) population (Namur, Liège, etc.), with the Flemish (French) population (Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Malines). Brussels represents both as the capital. We are sure that our nationality is certain for the future. We have suffered together; Germany cannot annex Belgium except superficially. The people are not cowed, are not afraid. Now we will agitate for the moral support of the neutral countries.

We are trying to make sure that—

1. There shall be no admiration for German military deeds. "You shall perhaps win victories, but never glory, after what you have done in Belgium," is what the Belgians say to the Germans.

2. To make the other nations understand that the destruction of Belgium as a nation means the destruction of all small nations. If we are to continue as a nation, what is to be the guarantee of it unless all the nations consider making an international law and an international constitution?

Brussels, October 20, 1914.

The last three days have passed most quickly. They have been filled with conferences with Belgian bankers, business men, scientists, and officials. I have been presenting to all these a plan for meeting the serious dangers that are looming up before all Belgium, and especially Brussels. The country is threatened with famine. Much of the country's food has been destroyed or taken in the war, and, as Belgium has always been obliged to import much of its food, there is a great shortage. Add to this that there are no means of transportation that are not controlled by the Germans in Belgium or by the

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English on the seas, that the country has no gold left, and no goods to exchange for food, and it is apparent that the situation is difficult beyond words. Moreover, practically all work has ceased throughout the country. There were reasons for this in the destruction caused by the war, and because there is no postal, telegraph, or telephone service available to the public; but, beyond these reasons, the Belgians have often used the general strike to express their dissatisfaction, and now they have been using it—refusing to work—as a means of protest against the Germans, their protest by force of arms having been overcome.

All these things have made a great lack of food supplies, and the ablest and wisest believe that a great famine is threatened. I found that the only work being done to meet the coming famine and the present misery was organized along charity lines. My task has been to try to make clear to the leading men that to depend on charity here or from other nations to feed seven million people until the next harvest was hopeless, and that a loan must be procured in England and the United States of a billion francs. Also that this loan, in order that its bonds should be salable, must be guaranteed safely, but by novel ways, as the national Government was out of Belgium and the country crippled by the Germans. I laid out a scheme by which this can be legally and safely done, and also a tentative plan for the resumption of work, the securing of the German and English guarantees of transportation, inviolability, etc., of food and raw material, and these plans are now being considered by the various groups and committees of leading Belgians who represent the only government that Belgium has, except municipal government. This is a far more dangerous situation than the Paris one was. For if famine comes there is the greatest danger that men made desperate by their own hunger and that of their wives and babies will do hopeless, reckless things against the Germans, who will in turn punish them as they have other Belgian cities and towns. The Germans, I feel sure, do not want to destroy Brussels or any other Belgian cities or villages. But, on the other hand, they undoubtedly feel that they cannot allow the slightest danger that is avoidable to come to their lines of communication in Belgium, and they will punish any attempt against their interests with punishment so severe that fear will prevent any repetition.

Brussels, October 21, 1914.

Have just returned from Antwerp. The American Minister (Brand Whitlock) sent me with the Legation auto, as I was carrying despatches for him. It was a depressing journey. There had been fighting all along the main road we took from Brussels to Antwerp, and the results were sickening in some of the villages—houses, churches, factories, etc., being destroyed in great numbers. The destruction was of different kinds. Some of the buildings were destroyed by solid shot, others by shrapnel, others by fire, and others, which had stood in the way of the artillery, had evidently been razed level to the ground before the battle. In some of the villages many houses stood apparently unharmed. Many of these had white flags still hanging out, but in many of the unharmed houses the doors were smashed in. In Malines the great cathedral was burned, but the greater part of the walls were still standing, showing the effects of the cannonading in many places. A great many of the surrounding houses were destroyed.

In Antwerp we were told that something over twelve hundred shells had been thrown into the city and one thousand houses destroyed. I saw nothing that approached this number of ruins. On the contrary, the city seemed almost intact, with one or two houses every few blocks destroyed by shells. I was told that the number of killed was estimated at anywhere from twenty to sixty people. The bombardment commenced on Wednesday, October 14, and continued Thursday and Friday. My informant, a man holding an official position, told me that he and others had strongly urged the hopelessness of trying to defend the city against bombardment after the outer forts had been captured, and said that he understood and believed that the Belgian King had advised against doing so, but that Churchill had arrived from England and had promised strong English aid if the city could hold out a few days until its arrival. However, sufficient aid did not come in time, nor the heavy English guns, and after the English had lost very heavily and had been slaughtered at the outer fort at Waelhem, they, the English, and the rest of the garrison troops withdrew and the city was surrendered by civilians—that is, by the Mayor and civilians, the Spanish Consul accompanying them.

I got an intimate view of a battlefield, as we saw long lines of intrenchments, some

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shallow, some deeper, with places for living or dying dug out in the sides. There were many destroyed bridges, and hundreds of trees had been cut down that formerly shaded the main road, and in places whole groves of trees that had apparently interfered with the line of artillery or infantry firing. At the inner defenses barbed-wire entanglements had been erected, and pointed stakes in great numbers, to stop cavalry charges, had been put down. The most pitiful sights were the crowds waiting to get food from the Red Cross in Antwerp, and the great numbers of peasants and workpeople we met on the road returning to their deserted and often ruined homes. Some were on foot, mostly in family groups, young and old women and the children; usually one man and several women and many children in each group. Many of the groups were in horse and donkey and dog carts. The dogs are more commonly used as beasts of burden, and, as a rule, these carts, farm wagons mostly, were filled with household goods, and the old women and children piled on top of the goods.

There seems to be a still greater bitterness and resentment against the Germans in Antwerp than in Brussels, from what I heard and saw in a visit too short to form really valuable judgments. The general bearing of the Germans, however, seemed to me to be firm but conciliatory, in so far as they were trying to make the return home of the peasants possible, and as easy as possible under the conditions prevailing. I was told that the German general told the civilian deputation that came to surrender Antwerp that the Germans were not fond of shooting at civilians, and that to compel them needlessly to bombard Antwerp was a folly on the part of the Belgians.

Brussels, October 22, 1914.

The Germans have posted notices allowing more free intercommunication, and, I believe, are anxious that work shall be resumed and the threatening famine averted. They know, I believe, that if the country goes through a famine this winter and spring, suffering much from the scarcity of fuel, there will be danger added to danger, and the difficulty of their task of holding Belgium, which is their line of communication with their army and their base of supplies, will be greatly increased. So they are probably willing and anxious to do all they can, but their military necessities limit them in part, and the attitude of the Belgians also.

The outlook here is therefore most threatening for all concerned. The people, besides being out of work, are deprived of almost all the usual methods of filling in their time. There are no theaters or concerts, and none of the Brussels newspapers appear since the Germans entered. The Germans have not suppressed them; on the contrary, they have tried to have them published. But the Belgians believe that it is against their interest to have them appear, eager as they are to have some news daily. For, they say, no paper could publish anything except what the German censors would allow, and that would mean things favorable to the German cause. This would have greater influence with the people if published by Belgian papers that people were accustomed to trust. Two papers, each of only one page, do appear daily in French, but the Belgians say that they are German papers created since the occupation and not their papers. The "Kölnische Zeitung" is received here daily and is the most read, but of course the masses of the people cannot read it, as it is printed in German. A Holland paper is also sold, but, as I cannot read it, I can have no opinion of its contents. Occasionally copies of English papers are smuggled in. I know of eight dollars being paid for a copy of the "Times," and I was told as high as forty dollars is paid for a copy. It is a criminal offense to sell it or to bring it in.

Brussels, October 25, 1914.

11 P. M. Have just come from dining with the American Minister. I accompanied Madame Carton de Wiart, the wife of the Belgian Cabinet Minister of Justice, home, as she had come alone, having no longer horses or an auto at her disposal. The American Minister could not send us home in his auto, as he had no gasoline. That is very scarce, and the German authorities, who have practically all there is, allow him only a small quantity each day. It was raining and the effect was weird getting through the almost dark streets. Coal is very scarce and gas is saved. We were continually challenged by sentries out of the gloom, as this quarter is closed to every one without a pass. Madame Carton de Wiart lives in the Palace of the Minister of Justice, her former home, as she refused to take herself and her six children away from the dangers of Belgium because

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she thought she had no right to escape the suffering the masses of Belgians must undergo, and she did not want her children to come back, after a year or two of exile under pleasant conditions in England, and grow up without knowing what the people have suffered from the horrors of war. Therefore, as the Germans are quartered in the Palace, she is living under exceptional conditions. She told a very touching story of the funeral of the son of a prominent Belgian who was killed in a battle in a town between Brussels and Antwerp. The funeral was held without notice to friends or relatives (although he was buried in his home city, Brussels), and with only three members of the family walking behind the casket, because the family felt that, at a time when such great numbers of Belgians were either being buried in nameless graves or with the cheapest funerals, they ought to make the least possible contrast with the common lot, however able they were to do so. This young soldier's body was dug out of the ruins of a house. He was still grasping his rifle, and his note-book was found on him. He and his comrades had held a forlorn hope at a bridge until orders came to retreat. Whereupon he and a few of the comrades remained fighting from house to house, and meeting the inevitable death. I wish I could reproduce from memory the exact words of these last notes and the father's letter with its mixture of unspeakable sorrow and unspeakable pride. This is a real nation, capable of the greatest sacrifices for its country.

Brussels to The Hague,
October 28, 1914.

8:30 A.M. Just leaving for Holland. I am writing this in an automobile. I would like to have a picture of the situation. In the auto, besides myself (it is a rather small covered auto, with one back seat and two folding seats), are a grandmother and baby, a stylishly dressed attaché of the Spanish Embassy, a big bag of mail, three suit-cases, three bags, and a lot of packages, including milk bottles, etc., for a nine-months-old baby. But I am very glad to get the chance to go along, as otherwise I might have to wait an indefinite time, for yesterday morning orders were given stopping all automobiles except those that obtain a special exemption. This auto runs between Holland and Brussels for the Dutch and United States Legation, and so was able to get through, although we have had some trouble and had to go to the military headquarters at Malines. We rode again through the destroyed or partially destroyed villages and cities between Brussels and Antwerp, and found life beginning again, only very slowly, although the undamaged shops and houses were again open. We passed many refugees coming back again with their household goods on their backs or in hand or donkey carts or carts pulled by dogs, and some by horses, which are very scarce. It was interesting to read inscriptions on some of the undamaged houses, evidently written by the German soldiers. For instance, "*Gute Leute*," or, again, "A good old woman," or "A very old woman lives here," or "These are nice people" or "Germans." Others of the saved houses still had a white flag hanging out. We passed the frontier early, without showing any personal papers or having to open our luggage; and, arriving at the depot at Rosendaal, found a crowd there, as the stream of people, which was overwhelming a little while ago, has not yet found its usual level. I was told that fifteen thousand went to Belgium yesterday and eight thousand came back, which makes a crowd in a small depot in a small town.

The Hague,
October 29, 1914.

Have spent the day calling on the American Minister and others—with no results so far. I am realizing the strain and oppression I have felt under the martial law existing in Belgum by the contrast here. I have a feeling of being reborn, and a still greater longing to get home again. On the physical side I am keenly alive to plenty of food and warmed rooms in the houses, plenty of good horses and carriages and taxis for hire, wagons loaded with products of factories and shops and mines—all of which were missing in Belgium. On the mental and spiritual side I am impressed as never before by seeing the usual number of smiling, laughing men and women and happy children; by finding in the hotel reading-room and at the booths newspapers from all the leading countries; by hearing men talk openly and freely of the war; by being able to go into a restaurant or café and sit down without having all my near neighbors look at me furtively and suspiciously and speak still lower than they did before—if that is possible. In short, I am feeling, as never before, what an atmosphere of law and order and justice and liberty means in contrast with militarism, martial law, and force.

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TEACHING CONCENTRATION

BY ELIZABETH CHILDE

WE hear much in these days of the necessity of proper preparation for college. No doubt the question is an important one, but it sinks into obscurity when placed beside the fateful question of the proper preparation for kindergarten. There is nothing of which I from my own experience as mother and teacher feel more absolutely certain than that every child's educational destiny is practically determined before he reaches the school age.

"Oh, do you think so?" protested a friend of mine who heard me make this assertion not long ago. "I always supposed that children were very impressionable until they were ten."

Her objection would have been well taken if "impressions" could be depended upon as educational factors. Children are certainly very impressionable up to the age of ten and beyond; but it is *habit*, not impression, that makes or mars education, and no child can possibly grow to be five years old without acquiring a collection of mental habits that will in a large measure fix the limits of his capacity for intellectual development. There is no faculty more essential to scholarship than concentration, the ability to pay attention; and yet ninety-nine children out of a hundred have the habit of inattention not only taught but drilled into them from the time they can toddle.

"Harry-y-y!" calls his mother; and does Harry look up to see what his mother wants and go running to her, to attend the better? By no means! He goes right ahead with whatever project was absorbing him; and if he hears his mother at all, he certainly does not heed her.

"Harry-y-y!" calls his mother again and again; and finally, if it is really necessary for her to possess the person of her offspring, she sends Mary Jane to bring him; if not, she lets him go. How could there be a more thorough training in inattention than some four or five years of this talking to heedless ears?

Almost everybody is capable of something like concentration when very deeply interested. The mind is all there, absorbed, active, alert. But it is only when this interest is controlled, and can be harnessed at will wherever it is needed, that we can rightly call it concentration. The habit of controlled interest, or, better, self-controlled interest, is a compound habit, the resultant of two simple habits both of which may, with a reasonable amount of persistence, be taught to any little child.

The first of these is *self-control*. It comes only through discipline, and is notoriously lacking in present-day American children. There is very little of the true spirit of obedience among our juvenile population; and what there seems to be is due for the most part to parental tact and diplomacy, not to the strength and firmness that beget genuine respect in the heart of a child.

The second of these habits is that of being *habitually interested in everything that is unknown*. It comes from the right training of the normal curiosity with which all healthy children are blessed; but it is possible only where children have the inestimable privilege of the right sort of adult companionship—intimate, chummy adult companionship that visits and visits and visits about everything under the sun.

I make these statements with some degree of confidence, because the most remarkable power of concentration with which I have ever had dealings is one that I have myself trained according to these principles. Its owner was at the age of two years absolutely obedient. She did not know that it was possible for her to be otherwise. She came instantly when I called her, did instantly what I told her to do, and looked straight into my face with the most undivided attention when I spoke to her. She did these things, not from inherited goodness, as her grandparents fondly supposed, but because she had found from experience that it was absolutely necessary to do them. It soon became habitual, and she appeared to obey as if by instinct.

Finding right on the start that the world emphatically did not belong to her, the child was, I believe, under the impression that it belonged to me. At any rate, she expected me to know all about it and to help her to unravel its mysteries. I had always regarded a disobedient spirit as I would have regarded strychnine, and acted accordingly; and now

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when the questions began to come, I regarded them as educational opportunities. "The time to teach a child is when he wants to know," became our household motto, the educational idea adopted by both father and mother.

"'Hot's 'at?" asked the infant searcher after truth.

It would have been easy for me to have said, "Oh, that's baking powder," and to have gone on with the cake as if nothing had happened. But that would have been a violation of the code. The child was, through her perfectly natural curiosity, volunteering an absolutely undivided attention. She was inviting me to exercise that attention by holding it for a few moments steadfastly upon the object of her spontaneous interest; she was inviting me also to feed a lusty and ravenous curiosity, and to prove again the oft-proved fact that everything that is is interesting.

So I answered with sincere enthusiasm: "This is a wonderful, wonderful magic! We call it baking powder, because it helps us so much when we bake our cakes and muffins and biscuits. Just look at it down there in the can! It looks like flour, but it isn't. It is soda and cream of tartar all mixed up together and sound asleep. All we have to do to wake them up is to wet them, and the minute they are awake they always begin to play together and blow bubbles. Here! Take some in this spoon with a little water, so. See how it dances and sputters and blows bubbles! That is just the way it does in the cake. It blows beautiful little bubbles all through the batter, and then the hot oven bakes them right into the cake and makes it good."

The young investigator was deeply, thrillingly interested. "Oh, mother," she exclaimed, "isn't it dear, dood batin' powder? Will it bow bubbles wite in dis very same cake?"

"Yes, that is just what it is doing this minute."

"Oh, pease put a 'ittle weenty in my 'ittle pan. Dust as twick as de ubben tan bake it I 'awnt to taste some of doze bubbles dat de soda and de cweam's daughter is b'owin'."

This is only one instance, but it illustrates the point. Life for this child became one continuous fairy story, containing absolutely nothing that was commonplace. Everything indoors and out was replete with mystery; everything had a story. Since her questions were taken seriously right from the start, she never got into the habit of asking multitudinous and senseless questions just for the sake of talking; she asked because she wanted to know, and, wanting to know, she waited for and listened to the answer. Her questions became rather less numerous, but far, far more intelligent than those of the average child. They took us into the realms of physics, chemistry, botany, physiology, astronomy, geography, history, and zoölogy. I lived with one hand on the encyclopædia in the year that she was three. And so, as obedience grew into self-control, curiosity grew into a wide interest that embraced, and still embraces, everything that the world contains.

Before this little girl was four years old she had learned never to scream. If it was necessary for her to cry, she cried quietly; but there was rarely a grief that was not at once forgotten if we but promised to tell her "something interesting." She knew what it was to pay attention, because she had been paying the closest kind of attention to all sorts of interesting things from the time she was old enough to ask a question. And she knew what it was to do as she was told by those in rightful authority over her, because experience had taught her that that was the key to earthly happiness. From these two habits she developed a power of concentration, a teachableness, that has made her the marvel of every teacher she has ever had, has literally cut in half the time necessary for the work of the grades, and has enriched her childhood in ways too numerous and varied to be mentioned here.

I have known, in all of my acquaintance with children, of only one other child who has been taught absolute obedience from the cradle, who has never indulged with impunity in a single case of insubordination. This is a little girl who is about nine months younger than mine. Her mother and I pushed baby-carriages together some thirteen years ago, and held many an inspiring mothers' meeting while so doing. It did not take me long to gain a convert to my obedience propaganda. My friend was deeply interested in my methods and entirely convinced by my results. Also she was much dissatisfied with the "tact and diplomacy" method that she had employed with her first child. So she, too, marked disobedience with the skull and cross-bones, and got results that were quite as satisfactory as mine.

For the past year and a half I have had the privilege of directing this child's educa-

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tion, and I am confident that if she had had the same training of curiosity her scholarship would have been quite as unusual as that of my own child. During the time that she has been with me I have given especial attention to the broadening of her interests by means of conversation arising from her questions, and the result has been surprising even to me, though I had unbounded faith in the principle. Last year her work seemed to grow in mental grasp as if by magic, and to-day she has a power of work and concentration that puts her far ahead of the average child. She goes about whatever task is assigned her with a purposeful, businesslike absorption that accomplishes things, and she goes from one duty to another in a methodical way that speaks more plainly than words of wise discipline in the past, and promises well for her future.

I have a very good friend who laughs at my theories.

"Your child is clever because she was born so," he insists. "Just look at my two! They have been brought up in exactly the same way, and yet they are as different as they can be."

My friend really believes that his two children have been brought up in exactly the same way; but the fact is that their training has been as different as possible. The first child is a typical young American, bright, wide-awake, lovable, interesting, indulged. After he grew out of babyhood he was punished when his offenses were too serious to be overlooked, but his training did not begin early enough, nor was it definite enough to have any influence upon his mental habits. The little girl, eighteen months younger, has undoubtedly received from her parents exactly the same management, as her father believes; but what has she received from her brother? Why, discipline—*discipline*—DISCIPLINE right from the start. I visited them when she was three weeks old, and it had already begun. The boy would not give up to the baby, so the baby learned, perforce, to give up to the boy, learned it so thoroughly that the parents think it is her nature. As a matter of fact, both children have exceptionally sweet natures, but all the discipline has fallen to the lot of the little girl. Was there an errand to be run? Little sister was sent because she went so much more cheerfully. Was there a task to be performed? Little sister was asked to do it because she made so much less fuss. On the whole she is, and always has been, a pretty thoroughly disciplined child; and it shows in her school work. Though only eight years old, she is with her brother in the fifth grade and excels him in every subject.

The obedient spirit alone will not necessarily make children clever; but it is unquestionably the best possible foundation for mental development, because it is the teachable spirit. It also makes possible and pleasant the intimate adult companionship that is by far the most important element in education. There is no more delightful companion than a well-trained, obedient, teachable child, who fully realizes that his elders are in a position of authority over him, and that they actually do know more about most things than he does. And there is for such a child no other experience that begins to be so educational or so inspiring as the right sort of adult companionship, which is neither overindulgent nor condescending, but is always feeding and leading his God-given curiosity.

Two of my friends have collie pups from the same litter. One friend likes her house better than her dog, and so the collie stays outside. He knows nothing at all except to bark and jump in ecstasy upon every one who speaks kindly. The other friend likes her dog better than her house, and lets him in to live with the family. He is so intelligent that he seems to lack only speech to make him human. What makes the difference? Nothing but adult human companionship and conversation; and what it will do for a dog it will do a thousandfold for the child. We as a people are so impressed with the necessity of providing child companionship for our children that we are in danger of overlooking their intellectual necessity for intimacy with grown people. There are hundreds of careful mothers who give time and thought to their children, but rarely have with them anything that could rightly be called conversation. There is love without real intimacy; there is physical care without intellectual sympathy; there is a nominal companionship without the interchange of ideas. And because of all this, children are deprived of a means of education that is of vital and fundamental importance because it is absolutely natural. No amount of artificial schoolroom training can compensate for the loss.

It is natural for the child to be with the mother. The things which separate them belong to an artificial mode of existence. It

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is natural for the mother to exact obedience. Not only natural, but necessary in the normal life where she, with her children always about her, is busy with the problems of living. That which interferes with this normal discipline is a modern and purely artificial sentimentality. It is natural for the child to ask questions, and for the mother to entertain him with her answers; but here again nature is thwarted by the modern complexity of our lives and the artificial forms of amusement with which the modern child is fairly swamped. Mental vigor, otherwise concentration, is quite too important a human faculty for the Creator to have left to chance; and we have only to go back to a more simple and natural mode of living to secure it in the largest measure.

There is among thoughtful people everywhere a general and distressful feeling of dissatisfaction regarding the thing that we call education. Although we are willing to make almost any sacrifice to get it for our children, we have an uncomfortable misgiving that the value received does not begin to compensate for the time, effort, and expense put into it. Professor Gayley, in his "Idols of Education," expresses this misgiving emphatically and unequivocally as follows:

"Of the effectiveness of the public schools in the several States, the universities of each State respectively may judge. From Harvard, Yale, and Princeton to California and Stanford the judgment is a Groan. . . .

"The boy enters our colleges 'a badly damaged article.' One-sidedly prepared or not prepared at all, he goes through college accumulating courses but not education; desperately selecting studies least foreign to his slender capacity for assimilation, or most easy to slur, or most likely to turn to superficial ends. He is by no means always lazy, nor oblivious that now is the chance of his life; but he has no core of knowledge to which the facts he fumbles may cling, no keen-edged linguistic or scientific tools with which to cut to the heart of the matter, no memory trained and enriched, no taste, no imagination, no judgment balanced by frequent trial, no habits of remorseless application. He has bluff but not confidence; he has promise but not power."

When we read such an arraignment of the flower of our youth, it is natural for us to turn to the high schools for an explanation. Why do our children go to college "badly damaged articles"? Surely, we have the right to know. But from the high schools everywhere comes the same "groan," the same story of unpreparedness that we hear from the colleges. There seems to be "too great a gap" between the grades and the high school. Here, too, there is "no core of information;" here, too, there are no "keen-edged tools;" here, too, is "bluff without confidence," "promise without power." The high school standards, we find, must of necessity be brought down to the level of the young people to be dealt with.

And so we are obliged to turn to the elementary schools with our complaint of "badly damaged articles," and seek the explanation there. We find the grades able to cope with reading, writing, geography, grammar, arithmetic, and algebra in devious and marvelous ways; but we find them helpless in the presence of an all-pervading irresponsibility on the part of the pupils, and frustrated to the point of desperation by the lack of concentration that the child brings from home. If we look into the matter thoroughly, we are forced to the conclusion that the child goes to kindergarten a "badly damaged article," and that the damage is done in the home.

Lack of concentration, which is at the bottom of the whole trouble, does not mean, as many suppose, that concentration has merely not yet begun to grow. Lack of concentration is a bad habit of inattention that, like thumb-sucking, should never have been begun. And concentration is merely the firmly established habit of attention that should be understood by all parents, just as sanitation and infant hygiene should be understood.

If we parents do not want our children to dawdle through their childhood, to hem and haw and make excuses, to spend an hour over ten minutes' worth of work or else shirk it altogether, we must teach them to concentrate. If we want them to have a "core of knowledge to which facts may cling," "keen-edged tools with which to cut to the heart of the matter;" if we want them to have confidence instead of bluff, and power as well as promise, we must teach them to concentrate. The earlier we begin, the better we will succeed.

In his "Idols of Education," already quoted, Professor Gayley lays the responsibility for faulty training upon the home; but he says that the educators must find the remedy and educate the parents. To wait for the home to become what it should be, he says, would be to wait until there is no fur-

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ther need of education. He may be right, but I am convinced that for the parents to wait to be educated by the educators would be for us to wait until our children's grandchildren are past the need of education. It seems a pity to wait so long.

THE CONSERVATION OF WILD LIFE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FORTY years ago John Ruskin gave a series of lectures on "Greek and English Birds," which he later gathered into a volume under the title of "Love's Meinie"—a title showing affectation of course, for Ruskin was as affected as Carlyle; and no small part of the contents of the volume exhibits affectation carried to the verge of mental unsoundness. But it is beautifully written—else would it not be Ruskin's. It shows the delight in nature which can never be felt save by the man whose pulses throb with sheer delight in the spring scents of budding things, in the music of birds, the rustling of trees, the running of brooks, and in the wind-flaws on glassy lakes; a delight which can never be interpreted to others unless by one who is also master of the great art of putting fine thoughts into simple, clear, and noble words.

It also contains a characteristically amusing, and by no means wholly unjust, attack on modern science. In comparing it with the crass ignorance of the average upper-class Englishman he says: "It is vulgar in a far worse way by its arrogance and materialism. In general the scientific natural history of a bird consists of four articles—first, the name and estate of the gentleman whose gamekeeper shot the last that was seen in England; secondly, two or three stories of doubtful origin, printed in every book on the subject of birds for the last fifty years; thirdly, an account of the feathers, from the comb to the rump, with enumerations of the colors which are never more to be seen on the living bird of English eyes; and, lastly, a discussion of the reasons why none of the twelve names which former naturalists have given to the bird are of any further use, and why the present author has given it a thirteenth, which is to be universally, and to the end of time, accepted."

With the stricture on modern scientific terminology contained in the last clause I cordially agree. But of far greater practical importance is the lesson to be inferred from the first and third "articles." It is deeply discreditable to the people of any country calling itself civilized that as regards many of the grandest or most beautiful or most interesting forms of wild life once to be found in the land we should now be limited to describing, usually in the driest of dry books, the physical characteristics which when living they possessed, and the melancholy date at which they ceased to live.

Ever since man in recognizably human shape made his appearance on this planet he has been an appreciable factor in the destruction of other forms of animal life, and he has been a potent factor ever since he developed the weapons known to the savages of the last few tens of thousands of years. But modern weapons have given a tremendous impetus to this destruction. Never before were such enormous quantities of big beasts and large birds slain as in the nineteenth century. Never before was there such extensive and wasteful slaughter of strange and beautiful forms of wild life as in the century which saw the greatest advance in material civilization and the most rapid spread of the civilized peoples throughout all the world.

Towards the end of that century a few civilized nations wakened to a sense of shame at what was going on. Enlightened men and women here and there began to take efficient action to restrain this senseless destruction of that which, once destroyed, could never be replaced. Gradually they roused a more general sentiment, and now there is a considerable body of public opinion in favor of keeping for our children's children, as a priceless heritage, all the delicate beauty of the lesser and all the burly majesty of the mightier forms of wild life. We are fast learning that trees must not be cut down more rapidly than they are replaced; we

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have taken forward steps in learning that wild beasts and birds are by right not the property merely of the people alive to-day, but the property of the unborn generations, whose belongings we have no right to squander; and there are even faint signs of our growing to understand that wild flowers should be enjoyed unplucked where they grow, and that it is barbarism to ravage the woods and fields, rooting out the mayflower and breaking branches of dogwood as ornaments for automobiles filled with jovial but ignorant picnickers from cities.

In the present century the new movement gathered head. Men began to appreciate the need of preserving wild life, not only because it was useful, but also because it was beautiful. Song birds, shore birds, water-fowl, birds of all kinds, add by voice and action to the joy of living of most men and women to whom the phrase "joy of living" has any real meaning. Such stately or lovely wild creatures as moose, wapiti, deer, hartebeeste, zebra, gazelle, when protected, give ample commercial returns, and, moreover, add to the landscape just as waterfalls and lofty pine trees and towering crags add to the landscape. Fertile plains, every foot of them tilled, are of the first necessity; but great natural playgrounds of mountain, forest, cliff-walled lake, and brawling brook are also necessary to the full and many-sided development of a fine race. In just the same way the homely birds of farm and lawn and the wild creatures of the waste should all be kept. It is utterly untrue to say, as demagogues and selfish materialists sometimes unite in saying, that "the game belongs to the people"—meaning the loafers and market gunners who wish to kill it, and the wealthy and lazy gourmands who wish to eat it, without regard to the future. It is true that the game belongs to the people; but this rightly means the people who are to be born a hundred years hence, just as much as the people who are alive to-day. In the same way, persons who own land, and, above all, persons who merely visit or pass through land, have no more right wantonly or carelessly to destroy birds or deface scenery than they have to pollute waters or burn down forests or let floods through levees. The sooner we appreciate these facts, the sooner we shall become a really civilized people.

Laws to protect small and harmless wild life, especially birds, are indispensable. Such laws cannot be enacted or enforced until public opinion is back of them; and associations like the Audubon Societies do work of incalculable good in stirring, rousing, and giving effect to this opinion; and men like Mr. Hornaday render all of us their debtors by the way they efficiently labor for this end, as well as for what comes only next in importance, the creation of sanctuaries for the complete protection of the larger, shyer, and more persecuted forms of wild life. This country led the way in establishing the Yellowstone Park as such a sanctuary; the British and German Empires followed, and in many ways have surpassed us. There are now many such sanctuaries and refuges in North America, middle and South Africa, and even Asia, and the results have been astounding. Many of the finer forms of animal life, which seemed on the point of vanishing, are now far more numerous than fifteen years ago, having by their rapid increase given proof of the abounding vigor of nature's fertility where nature is unmarred by man. But very much remains to be done, and there is need of the most active warfare against the forces of greed, carelessness, and sheer brutality, which, if left unchecked, would speedily undo all that has been accomplished, and would inflict literally irreparable damage.

The books before me[1] are powerful weapons in this warfare for light against darkness. Mr. Hornaday's volume, in which he has been assisted by Mr. Walcott, consists chiefly of lectures delivered before the admirable Forest School of Yale University. It is really a full technical treatise which should be owned and constantly used by every man and woman who is alive to our needs in this matter. He shows how much has been accomplished in creating the right type of popular opinion. He is able to tell what we have accomplished in the creation of great National playgrounds, the National parks, which are National game preserves. The Yellowstone, Glacier, Mount Olympus, Grand Canyon, Sequoia, and other parks represent one of the best bits of National achievement which our people have to their credit of recent years. The National forests should also be made game reserves. No sale of game or market hunting should be allowed anywhere; fortunately, the infamous traffic

[1] Wild Life Conservation. By William T. Hornaday. With a Chapter on Private Game Preserves by Frederic C. Walcott. Yale University Press.
Alaskan Bird Life. Edited by Ernest Ingersoll. Published by the National Association of Audubon Societies.
Menschen und Tiere in Deutsch-Südwest. By Adolf Fischer. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart und Berlin.

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in millinery feathers has now been forbidden. The Federal migratory bird law is a capital piece of legislation. Mr. Hornaday shows the imperative need of protecting our shore birds; he shows the economic value of birds to the farmer; he deals with what must, alas! be called just severity with the attitude of the average "sportsman" toward wild life.

One of the most interesting and pleasant phases of the movement of which Mr. Hornaday is one of the leaders is that which deals with the rapidity with which animals accustom themselves to protection and multiply when given the chance to do so. In New York and New England white-tail deer have enormously increased in numbers during the last thirty years. In Vermont the deer were absolutely exterminated forty years ago. Then a dozen were introduced from the Adirondacks. These have thriven and multiplied literally over a thousandfold. In forty years the original twelve individuals have increased to such an extraordinary degree that at present hunting under proper restriction is permitted, and five or six thousand deer are killed annually, without diminution of the stock. Mr. Hornaday is an entirely sane and rational man; he heartily approves of hunting, of sport carried on in legitimate fashion, as it can be, without any diminution of the amount of game. He shows that in the case of the Yellowstone elk it is urgently desirable that there should be a great increase in the killing, especially of cows; for in the absence of a sufficient number of natural foes they have increased until they now die by thousands each winter of starvation. (By the way, I venture to point out that when the cougars in the Yellowstone dwell away from the deer, antelope and sheep, and prey only on elk, they do no damage.) Our prime duty, at present, as regards the immense majority of large or beautiful or useful mammals and birds, is to protect them from excessive killing, or, indeed, from all killing. But when genuinely protected, birds and mammals increase so rapidly that it becomes imperative to kill them. If, under such circumstances, their numbers are not kept down by legitimate hunting—and some foolish creatures protest even against legitimate hunting—it would be necessary to have them completely exterminated by paid butchers. But the foolish sentimentalists who do not see this are not as yet the really efficient foes of wild life and of sensible movements for its preservation. The game hog, the man who commercializes the destruction of game, and the wealthy epicure—all of these, backed by the selfish ignorance which declines to learn, are the real foes with whom we must contend. True lovers of the chase, true sportsmen, true believers in hunting as a manly and vigorous pastime, recognize these men as their worst foes; and the great array of men and women who do not hunt, but who love wild creatures, who love all nature, must discriminate sharply between the two classes.

The Audubon Societies, which have done so much good work, have rarely done a better piece of work than in publishing the charming little book on "Alaskan Bird Life" which has been edited by Ernest Ingersoll. It has been prepared for free distribution among the people of Alaska. Surely, societies that do such work are entitled to the heartiest support from all good citizens. But something ought to be charged for the book. Let schoolteachers have it free by all means; give it as a prize to exceptional pupils; but let the average man or woman pay something for such a first-class little volume. It is a book of really exceptional merit; no bird lover in the United States or Canada—not to speak of Alaska—can afford not to have it in his or her library. It is all excellent; but best of all are the portions contributed by Mr. E. W. Nelson. Mr. Nelson is one of our best field ornithologists, and also one of our best closet scientific systematists; and to extraordinary powers of observation, and intense love of the wilderness and of wild creatures, he adds the ability to write with singular power and charm. Nothing better of its kind has ever been done than his account in this little volume of the bird life, at all seasons of the year, in the Yukon Valley and on the islands and along the seacoast. His ear is as good as his eye. He is the first writer to do justice to the musical notes, especially the love notes, of the "sou-sou-southerly" duck, which in winter we know so well on Long Island Sound. He tells of the Lapland longspur, singing on the wing like a bobolink; and of the noisy cock ptarmigan crowing his challenge as he springs a few yards in the air when he is still the dominant figure on the snowy spring plains, before the hosts of water-fowl arrive. Mr. Nelson is the first observer graphically and fully to portray the life history of the strange emperor goose.

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He is almost the first observer to describe the songs—for they are songs—of the shore birds; and particularly attractive is his description of the aerial love dance and love song of the tiny and gentle semi-palmated sandpiper. I cannot forbear quoting his account of the bird chorus that greets the oncoming of one of the spring storms:

"The evening before the onset of one of these spring storms was commonly heralded on the tundra, even in the clearest weather, by wonderful outbursts of cries from the larger water-fowl, and these would continue for half an hour before the birds settled down for the night. Thousands of birds took part in producing the tremendous chorus. It was made up of the notes of numberless loons in small ponds joined with the rolling cries of cranes, the bugling of flocks of swans on the large ponds, the clanging of innumerable geese, the hoarse calls of various ducks, and the screams of gulls and terns, all in a state of great excitement, apparently trying to outdo one another in strength of voice. The result was a volume of wildly harmonious music, so impressive that these concerts still remain among my most vivid memories of the north."

These ornithological sketches by Mr. Nelson are masterpieces of vivid and truthful portrayal of wild nature. They are as well done, from the standpoint of the nature lover and the man of letters, as Hudson's delightful "Naturalist in La Plata" and "Idle Days in Patagonia." These two volumes of Hudson's are literature, just as White's "Selborne" and Burroughs's writings are literature. Nelson writes with as strong charm as Hudson; he has the same love and understanding of wild life, and in addition he is a trained scientific man of the first class and an adventurous wanderer in the wilderness. A man who combines such qualities is very rare, and it is a pity not to utilize him to the utmost. Some first-class publishing firm, like Scribners, should insist upon Mr. Nelson's writing an American ornithology which would take rank as both a literary and a scientific classic.

The third volume is Mr. Fischer's sketch of men and beasts in German southwestern Africa. He describes the fell destruction, the almost complete annihilation, of the wonderful big game fauna of these southwestern African wastes by the white hunters and the black and yellow men whom they armed in the nineteenth century. It was a butchery so appallingly wasteful that it is melancholy to read of it. He also describes the steps taken by the German Government during the last decade to undo this wrong, especially by the establishment of carefully guarded game reserves. As in our country, as soon as the effort was seriously made it was entirely successful; eland, kudu, wildebeests, zebras, and many other wild creatures have once again begun to grow plentiful, and on these reserves are gradually losing their fear of man. Mr. Fischer's account of the desert and its dwellers shows keen sympathy and understanding. The mighty wilderness creatures of Africa surpass those of all the other continents in size, beauty, strangeness, number, and variety; and to allow this magnificent fauna to be needlessly butchered to satisfy the ignoble greed of hide and trophy hunters is a crime against our children's children. There are vast tracts of country that are useless for agriculture and of most use as game preserves managed in the interest of all people, both those existing and the unborn. England and Germany have done a fine work in the interest of civilization by their preservation of the African fauna in sanctuaries and by good game laws well enforced.

This is one of the many, many reasons why the present dreadful war fills me with sadness. The men, many of whom I have known—Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Belgians—who have been opening the Dark Continent to civilization, and who on the whole and of recent years have done their work so wisely, are now destroying one another and ruining the work that has been done. I knew many of the men, Englishmen and Germans, who have done most for the creation and success of these game preserves—Schilling, Hamilton, Jackson, Götzen, Harry Johnson, Buxton. In all essentials they resembled one another. The admirable work they did was of the same character, alike in the British and in the German possessions. It is cruel to think that their splendid purposes and energies should now be twisted into the paths of destruction.

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